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THE  
AFRICAN REPOSITORY

AND  
COLONIAL JOURNAL.

VOL. X.

*Published by order of the Managers of the*  
**THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.**

---

THE PROFITS ARISING FROM THIS WORK, ARE DEVOTED TO  
THE CAUSE OF THE SOCIETY.

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1834.



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THE  
AFRICAN REPOSITORY,  
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VOL. X.]

DECEMBER, 1834.

[No. 10.]

THE HON. THOMAS SMITH GRIMKE.

THE death of this distinguished and most virtuous man is a public calamity. We do not presume to attempt more than to show ourselves among the mourners on this occasion, and mingle our tears with those of our countrymen. Mr. Grimke has suddenly fallen from the prime of his active and honoured life, and the blow is more felt because unexpected. Happy for the American people to whom his great powers were so constantly and cheerfully devoted, should they by the striking event of his death be excited to consider the truths which he proclaimed only less eloquently by his discourse than example.

Mr. Grimke was an eminent lawyer, a profound scholar, an enlightened statesman, philanthropist and Christian. With manners unassuming, and a meek and childlike spirit, he united independence of thought and force of character. He was a warm and efficient friend of all the great and benevolent institutions of our country. "Had I the power," said he, "to gather into the bosom of our dear country, all the glories of the ancient sculptors, architects and painters, on the condition that such institutions should cease to exist among us, I would hold myself to have sinned a sin never to be forgiven, were I to pause, even for an instant, in the decision. *Those* would indeed make our country a theatre of wonders to the age of taste and science; but these have dedicated her to the service and glory of God, and are daily preparing her more and more, to act with gratitude and honor, that noble part, which becomes a free, a peaceful, an educated, a Christian people."

Mr. Grimke regarded (to use his own words) "*The English Bible, as the religious constitution of Protestant America;*" he believed that Christianity was designed to govern nations as well as individuals. That the Bible would become the "*moral constitution of a world of nations.*" He meditated with holy enthusiasm upon the influence and agency which his own country must exert in extending the empire of liberty and Divine truth. His desires were intense that her sons should enjoy the benefits of the best system of education, and in his view such was that only which best instructed them in duty, and best qualified them for usefulness. With original and manly eloquence he urged that the Bible should be adopted as



a text book in every scheme of education, from the primary school to the university; confident that its principles were instinct with the spirit that is to ennoble man, regenerate governments, and exalt states. He was an ardent friend to peace, thinking this had for centuries "*been the lost pleiad in the constellation of the Christian virtues.*" Africa has by the death of Mr. Grimke been deprived of an active and devoted friend. Through his efforts, principally, was the expedition sent from Charleston to Liberia, in December 1832, and the amount of time and labour which he devoted to correspondence in behalf of the emigrants, to the arrangement of their affairs, and to all matters connected with their embarkation, was very great. But we cannot exhibit his merits. It is doubtful, perhaps, whether the loss of any one man would have been more to be regretted. We may add, as was said of another, "His fame is so great, that he stands in no need of an encomium, and yet his worth is much greater than his fame. It is impossible not to speak great things of him, and yet it will be very difficult to speak what he deserves."

The following proceedings are copied from a Charleston paper.

*Tribute of Respect to the Memory of the Hon. Thomas S. Grimke.*

Pursuant to public notice, a numerous meeting of the members of the Bar, was held on Saturday, at 1 o'clock, P. M. in the Federal Court Room. His Honor JUDGE LEE, was called to the Chair, and W. P. FINLEY requested to act as Secretary.

The meeting was opened by an address from the Chairman, in which he announced in a very feeling and impressive manner, the mournful object for which it was convened, and alluded in terms not more glowing than just, to the pure and exalted character which the deceased had sustained in all the relations of life.

The Attorney General, R. Barnwell Smith, Esq. then rose, and after a few appropriate remarks, submitted the following preamble and resolutions, which, being seconded by Charles Fraser, Esq., were unanimously adopted by the meeting.

It is the natural impulse of sympathy, upon even ordinary occasions, that those who suffer a common loss, should seek consolation under their bereavement by commingling their regrets; but when such a man as THOMAS SMITH GRIMKE is suddenly taken from the society in which he was so distinguished an ornament and support, duty as well as sympathy call upon us to express our profound sense of the loss we have sustained.

The deceased, indeed, was no ordinary man, either in his intellectual or moral endowments. The energy—the astonishing energy with which he pursued the objects of life, was at once the indication of superior powers, and the cause of his great success.—He appeared continually to watch the dial-plate of time, that no hour of his existence should be fruitless of improvement or usefulness; and as his life advanced to its close, instead of remitting his habits of toil, his spirit seemed to burn with intenser activity. Hence his wonderful acquirements in every department of knowledge; whilst he found time, to obey every call of religious, social, or domestic duty. As a lawyer, he had long stood at the head of our profession. It was here, that his vast memory, stored with the rich fruits of his industry, gathered from every side as he passed through life, was more peculiarly exemplified. His legal knowledge was accurate and profound, comprehending the minutest details and the broadest principles. So fertile and original were the resources of his mind, that if he had any fault as an advocate, it was in advancing too many arguments to support his positions. He may thus, sometimes have dazzled a weaker vision by the profusion of light he threw upon his subject, but he never lost a cause from superficial examination or shallow views. In a country, peculiarly a country of laws, he possessed a high sense of the importance and dignity of that profession through which the laws are administered; and endeavoured to wield his knowledge and power to the great purpose for which they were created, the maintenance and advancement of justice. Hence, at the bar and in public estimation, he long stood, and justly stood pre-eminent amongst us.

It has been remarked in England, that lawyers have seldom proved able statesmen. The technical nature of the profession in that country, especially in the branch of special pleading, by habitually contracting the views to "the precedent on the file," may probably account for the fact, if this observation is correct. But under our systems of government and laws, judging from the results, it must be erroneous. The profession of law, at least upon the mind of the deceased, appeared not to have effected its broad and philosophical cast. As a statesman, his views were comprehensive, his knowledge extensive and accurate, and his motives above suspicion or imputation. A purer and more devoted spirit never spoke or felt for the interests of his country. Although living in times of bitter party contention, and differing from many of us upon all the leading subjects of politics, none of us—no man in our community, we sincerely believe, ever entertained a doubt of his simple integrity and disinterestedness in the opinions he professed; or beheld with

other feelings than those of admiration, the boldness with which they were avowed and maintained. His patriotism, in truth, was a part of his piety. Its essential aim was the approbation of God. Towards men, it was an impulse of duty; but it looked beyond the applause and honor of the world, from a deep sense of his accountability for the rectitude of his motives and conduct towards his country.

Nor was the information of the deceased, profound and extensive as it was, confined to the great subject of government and the laws. He was essentially a literary man. At every pause from the labors of his profession, he turned with avidity to the innocent and enchanting pursuits of literature, communing with the mighty dead, still living in the imperishable thoughts they have left behind them. In a country like ours, where capital is not accumulated, and to live, is necessarily the chief object of life, to be a literary man, is itself a distinction. But his aim was far beyond that proficiency in literature which might adorn an accomplished gentleman. He pushed his researches into the wide fields of ancient and modern lore, and became acquainted with all, and familiar with most of their branches. His published productions, evince the accuracy and the extent of his erudition; but it was in the social circles that the affluence of his acquisition was more amply recognized and more justly appreciated. Here, with a prodigal hand, he scattered the flowers he had gathered from every field; and while he delighted, he amazed his associates, by their wonderful variety. But it was chiefly at the bar, that we knew his attainments and felt his virtues. There are few of us who have not drank from the full fountain of his legal acquirements, and learned from the very generosity with which he imparted his information, the effect of knowledge in liberalizing the heart. Plain, yet dignified—patient and affectionate, yet immovable in firmness—offending none, and courteous to all, amidst the contentions and harassments of our difficult profession, he exhibited in his demeanor at the bar, the rare but bright example of what a Christian advocate ought to be. The poor and the friendless, the orphan and the widow, never sought his professional assistance in vain; and it was, when pleading for them, looking upward alone for his reward, that his powers often soared highest, and his eloquence was most touching and effective.

That trait in his character, however, which the deceased most valued, and which he was most truly solicitous to perfect, was his piety. On religion, he had built the whole structure of his moral character; to be worthy of his profession as a Christian, was the chief object of his existence. In early youth, he had assumed the garb of piety, and continued steadfastly through life, one of the brightest props and ornaments of Christianity in our land, exemplifying in his life and conversation all its ennobling principles. From being, according to his own representation, violent in temper, he became the calmest and mildest of men. He bereft himself of all those selfish principles to which we are so prone by nature; and devoted his life to God, and the welfare of others; until at length, to consider himself least, became the ordinary habit of his thoughts and conduct. To do good, indeed, to him seemed the bread of life. His charities were ever ready for the necessitous, and his tender sympathies for the afflicted and bruised in spirit; and even the way-faring man, and the stranger, with no claim upon him but the impress of humanity, would seek relief in his wide benevolence, and have his claim allowed. Had he been otherwise than he was, the prayers and blessings of the wretched whom he relieved, the applause of the good, and the admiration of the world, might have elated him with pride or vanity, but his humility increased with his distinction and elevation; and he closed life as he commenced it, walking meekly and humbly with his God. In his character were combined the simplicity of the child with the moral courage of the martyr.

Shall we lift the veil of private life, and disclose the affectionate son, the devoted husband, the tender father, the faithful friend, the kind and patient master, moving in the light of his noble but simple virtues, and shedding joy and peace, and happiness, to all around him? The memory of his virtues, in these tender relations, belong peculiarly to the keeping of others; and there we should leave them, sacred from our eulogies, enshrined in the hallowed sanctuary of private affection. The days of his pilgrimage are done, and he has entered into his rest. His mild face will no longer be seen amongst us, but the monuments of his public usefulness and benevolence are still with us, and the memory of his virtues will still dwell in our hearts. None of us may expect to equal him; but all of us may grow better and wiser, by recollecting the great and holy man, who once lived and moved amongst us.

*Resolved*, That in the death of THOMAS SMITH GRIMKE the poor and destitute have lost a friend—society a useful member—the bar a distinguished ornament—Christianity a zealous advocate and supporter—and our country at large a learned, able, and patriotic citizen.

*Resolved*, therefore, That the members of the Charleston Bar, in testimony of their profound sense of his virtues, and their deep regret at his decease, do wear mourning for the space of thirty days.

On motion of Joshua W. Toomer, Esq., seconded by M. King, Esq., it was

*Resolved*, That the above preamble and resolutions be published in all the papers of the city, and that a copy thereof, attested by the Chairman and Secretary of the meeting, be transmitted to the family of the deceased.

On motion of H. A. Desaussure, Esq., the meeting was then adjourned.

W. PERONNEAU FINLEY, *Secrétaire*.



## EMIGRANTS TO AFRICA.

The Managers of the American Colonization Society have concluded that it would be satisfactory to their friends throughout the Union to see in a tabular view, the number of emigrants which have been shipped to their colony in Africa (over and above re-captured Africans) since its establishment; at what time, and from whence they were sent, and have therefore caused the following to be made and published in the African Repository.

In examining this table, it will be found, that during the years 1831-2-3, the Society sent to Liberia more emigrants than were shipped in the *eleven previous years*, which, it is hoped, will satisfactorily account for the large debt which the Society incurred, in compliance with the pressing applications which were made upon them by emigrants and their friends during those years.

*Emigrants sent to Africa since the Commencement of the American Colonization Society.*

Date.	Names of Vessels.	Virginia.	N. Caroli- a.	S. Caroli- na.	Georgia.	Maryland.	Dist. Columb.	Pennsylvania.	New York.	Rhode Island.	Kentucky.	Tennessee.	Louisiana.	Mississippi.	Other States.	Native Afrs.	Total.
1820																	
March 9.	Elizabeth	9	-	-	-	2	2	32	41	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	86
1821																	
March.	Nautilus	24	-	-	-	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	32
1822																	
August.	Strong	-	-	-	-	26	-	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	36
1823																	
May.	Oswego	17	-	-	-	24	-	19	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	60
1824																	
January.	Cyrus	*103	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	103
Ditto.	Fidelity	-	-	-	-	4	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
1825																	
March.	Hunter	48	17	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	66
1826																	
February.	Vine	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	32	-	-	-	-	1†	-	33
March.	Indian Chief	18	118	-	-	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	148
1827																	
February.	Doris	8	74	-	-	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	92
November.	Ditto	22	-	-	-	65	-	15	-	-	-	-	-	-	2†	-	104
December.	Randolph	-	-	26	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	26
1828																	
January.	Nautilus	7	145	-	-	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	164
1829																	
February.	Harriet	132	1	-	-	17	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	150
1830																	
January.	Liberia	45	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	10	-	-	1§	-	53
April.	Montgomery	30	2	-	30	7	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	70
November.	Carolinian	78	1	-	9	9	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	8	-	-	106
December.	Valador	39	41	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	81
1831																	
July.	Criterion	1	19	-	-	4	-	2	-	-	1	-	18	-	-	-	45
October.	Orion	1	-	-	-	28	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	30
December.	James Perkins	307	32	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	339
1832																	
May.	Jupiter	79	22	19	45	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	170
July.	American	27	89	-	-	-	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	123
November.	Jupiter	37	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	38
December.	Hercules	-	-	156	20	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4†	-	180
Ditto.	Lafayette	-	-	-	-	146	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	146
Ditto.	Roanoke	98	20	-	2	-	-	6	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	127
Ditto.	American	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
1833																	
November.	Jupiter	49	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	50
Ditto.	Ajax	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	102	44	3	-	-	-	-	149
December.	Argus	19	-	-	-	12	24	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	58
		1197	582	201	106	387	40	65	76	32	103	55	21	10	8	2	2886

\* 1 from Port au Prince. † Mass. ‡ Delaware. § Connecticut. || Alabama. ¶ Florida.

## SOME REASONS FOR NOT ABANDONING COLONIZATION.

[From the New-York Observer, September 13, 20, 27.]

1. *If the Colonization Society should be permitted to die now, it might be thought guilty of the sins laid to its charge by Anti-Colonizationists, and thus an indelible stigma be fixed on the American character.*

The Colonization Society has, for many years, been held up, in the view of the whole world, as one of the great benevolent institutions of this country. It has received the public approbation of our most distinguished men, both in church and state. Mr. Birney says, "by the multiplied resolutions of favoring legislatures, of ecclesiastical bodies, with their hundred conventions, assemblies, conferences and associations, it has so far exalted itself into the high places of public sentiment, as itself to constitute public sentiment." The fact that it has purchased a territory and planted a colony on the coast of Africa, compels every writer of geography, and every historian of Africa and of America, to take note of its existence and of its doings; and the information is thus communicated to every school-boy who studies geography or history in every part of the civilized world. There is no benevolent institution in the country so universally known, both at home and abroad, as the American Colonization Society.

Suppose now, in compliance with the advice in Mr. Birney's letter, the society should be abandoned. Men in other countries and other ages would of course, inquire, "Why was it suffered to die?" and how natural it would be for the enemies of the country to point to Mr. Birney's letter, and say, "See there! *Public sentiment* in the United States was so utterly depraved, that this course was rendered necessary, in order to prevent that professedly benevolent institution from becoming the handmaid of slavery, an obstruction to emancipation, an instrument of cruel oppression to the free blacks, and a hindrance to the spread of civilization and Christianity in Africa?" Who that has a particle of patriotic feeling in his bosom would be willing that foreigners should be able to quote any American as authority for placing that record on the page of history?

And is it possible that any intelligent man can believe that such a record would be true? We will not question the honesty of Mr. Birney, but we will say, if his acquaintance with the character of the American people is so limited, and so unfortunate, that he really holds such an opinion, we can assure him, for his consolation, that there are in this section of the country, thousands and tens of thousands of true-hearted Colonizationists, who are resolved to pour out their money and their prayers, until Liberia, with the blessing of God, is converted into a physical and a moral paradise; until her territory is every where studded with churches, school-houses, and all the institutions which can elevate and adorn the human character; until the coloured man is provided with every facility for the expansion of his mind and soul, to the full limit of the faculties which God has given him; until Africa shall have her Jerusalem, her "Holy city," to which her sons may return with songs of joy, from their long captivity in a foreign land, and from which, hereafter, they may go forth to publish the good news of salvation to all her heathen tribes. The Colonization Society must not die until all this is effected.

2. *Colonization is a powerful means of improving the character of men.*

The people of this country are accustomed to think that colonization in America was the means of greatly improving the character of their ances-

tors; and it would be difficult to point to any part of the world where new colonists are not, both intellectually and morally, superior to the people in the old country from whom they sprang. Especially is this the case where any pains have been taken to extend to the new settlement the means of moral and intellectual improvement. The Colony in New South Wales, composed to a great extent of the most degraded class of the British people,—of men and women condemned to transportation for their crimes—is now an industrious, moral, and flourishing community, and bids fair to become the nucleus of a great and respectable nation.

New colonies, from the nature of the case, are favorable to the improvement of the character. In old countries the feelings and habits and institutions of men are fixed, and no change can be made without great difficulty. Abuses that have been growing for centuries and that have become interwoven with the very structure of society cannot be easily eradicated. But young communities, like young plants and young children, can easily be trained to receive any impression you may wish to put upon them.

3. *The evils complained of by the opposers of Colonization, may be remedied, without destroying either the Society or the Colony.*

Admit, for argument's sake, that there are colonizationists in the North who support the Society, not from any benevolent feeling, but merely from a wicked prejudice against the coloured people; admit that there are slaveholders in the South, whose attachment to Colonization arises solely from the wish to get rid of the free blacks, that they may hold their slaves in greater security; admit that there exist between the colonists and the natives in Liberia the same inequality and the same repulsive feeling as between the white man and the negro in this country; admit that the sale of rum and gun-powder in Liberia as an obstacle to the success of the missionary in converting the heathen. Did it never occur to the Anti-Colonizationists that these abuses all spring from avarice and sinful pride, and that these passions are "*vincible*?" Did it never occur to them that these passions must be encountered and overcome before *any plan* for the emancipation and elevation of the colored people can be successfully executed? Do they expect to persuade *all* the slaveholders in this country to give up their slave-property, and *all* white men to renounce their wicked prejudices; and do they abandon the Colonization Society in utter despair, because some of its professed friends are still under the dominion of avarice and prejudice? Are they looking for the time when all traffic in ardent spirit shall come to an end in this country, and have they so mean an opinion of the capacity of the colored man for moral improvement that they see no prospect that it will ever terminate in Liberia? Do they think it easy for the white man in the United States to place himself in all respects on an equality with the negro, upon whom he has been trampling in scorn and contempt for two centuries, and do they think it entirely impossible to convince men in Liberia of the same race and same color, that it is their duty to treat each other as brethren?

Why cannot Anti-Colonizationists see that the abuses of a benevolent institution may be remedied without destroying the institution itself? Why can they not see that so long as "a large majority" of those who support the institution, are by their own confession, "men of stainless purity of motive," it is wiser to attempt the reformation of the few who are of a different character, than to make their faults a reason for advising the public to "divorce themselves from the institution in all its parts and all its measures."

4. *If Colonization should be abandoned, many Christian slaveholders,*



*who are abolitionists in principle, would be deprived of the power of emancipating their slaves.*

The laws of most of the slave-holding states prohibit emancipation unless the slaves are removed from the state. We know it will be said, "These are wicked laws; they ought to be repealed; they will be repealed when a healthy public sentiment is created; and it is the duty of the Christian slaveholder to do all in his power to create a healthy public sentiment." This is very true, and the Colonizationist may admit it all in perfect consistency with his Colonization principles; but the difference between him and those who oppose him is, that the Colonizationist is not willing to *stop* here. He is not willing to consider his work *done*, when he has finished his declamation on the duty of immediate emancipation. He is so sincere in his desire to see slaves *immediately* emancipated, that he is not willing to *wait* until a complete revolution is effected in the public sentiment of the country. He wishes to emancipate as many as he can *now*; and he wonders that any man, having the feelings of a man, can wish to deprive the Christian slaveholder of the only means (as the case may be) of conferring upon his poor slaves the dearest of earthly blessings.

In advising his countrymen to abandon Colonization "in all its parts and in all its measures," Mr. Birney has incurred a responsibility which we think few good men would be willing to assume. We see not how he can reply to the reproaches of the slaves, who, in consequence of his advice, may be kept in bondage. We see not how he can support his new principles against the arguments and the touching appeals which may be urged by the Christian slaveholder, whose plans of emancipating and elevating his slaves may be thwarted through his instrumentality. Let us imagine an interview between Mr. Birney and such a Christian slaveholder; and as Mr. B. in his letter has chosen the form of a dialogue between himself and a heterodox Colonizationist, to illustrate the heartlessness of what he terms "Colonization principles," he will excuse us for adopting the form of a dialogue between himself and an orthodox Colonizationist, to illustrate the cruelty of the Anti-Colonizationism which he now advocates.

*Christian Slaveholder.* I am the owner, Mr. Birney, of fifty slaves, whose value in the market is about \$10,000. By the laws of Carolina they are my property; but I am a Christian, and I feel the obligations of the command, "Do unto others as ye would that others should do unto you." I am resolved, therefore, to emancipate them, and as the laws of the State will not allow me to do it here, I am resolved to put them under the care of the Colonization Society, that they may be sent to Liberia.

*Mr. Birney.* Have you made them acquainted with the condition of Liberia, and are they willing to remove thither?

*Christian Slaveholder.* Yes. I have taken great pains to obtain correct information respecting the condition and prospects of the colony, and have frankly communicated the whole to the slaves. I have also made them acquainted with all the laws of this State which bear upon their condition, and with the laws and state of society in the free States at the North and West. I have assured them too that if they choose to remain with me, I shall endeavour to treat them, so long as they are under my control, with the kindness which the gospel requires; but they know that in case of death or misfortune they must pass into other hands, and that their children can have no security that their lot will be in any respect better than that of other slaves. After carefully considering the whole matter, they have, therefore, made up their minds to go to Liberia. The expense of their removal will be \$1,500, and for this I must depend entirely on the Colonization Society; but our friends at the North will doubtless contribute this

small sum, and thus secure the liberty and happiness of fifty of the poor men for whom they feel and are constantly expressing so much Christian sympathy.

*Mr. Birney.* You may be disappointed in the aid you expect from the North. The philanthropists of the North are beginning to take more enlarged views of their duty in regard to slavery; and some of them have already abandoned the colonization scheme for the more sublime enterprise of "immediate and universal emancipation."

*C. S.* Surely, with these enlarged feelings, they will not hesitate a moment to give the trifle that is necessary to secure immediate liberty to my fifty slaves!

*Mr. B.* There, I repeat it, you may be disappointed. The philanthropists of the new school aim only at *universal* emancipation. They will not give a cent to secure the emancipation of your fifty slaves, for that would be a *partial* and *particular* act, while their object is to abolish *all* slavery.

*C. S.* It is an axiom in geometry that the whole is made up of all its parts; if we can only contrive to get rid of the parts of slavery we may find in the end that we have got rid of the whole of it. It is an old maxim too, that if we cannot do what we would, we should at least do what we can.

*Mr. B.* These, sir, are "colonization principles;" they belong to an age that has gone by; they are altogether too tame to satisfy the bold and uncompromising spirit of a true reformer. Slavery will never be abolished by men who hold such principles.

*C. S.* I am a practical man, Mr. Birney. I have thought of the subject of slavery chiefly in relation to personal duty, and particularly my own duty to my own slaves. With my colonization principles, I am an emancipationist; because I see clearly that emancipation with colonization will be a great practical blessing to my slaves, and in acting on these principles I see that I am fulfilling the great law of Christian love—that I am treating them as I would that they in like circumstances should treat me. But if I abandon colonizationism, what shall I do, for the law you know will not allow me to emancipate them here.

*Mr. B.* Use your influence to procure a repeal of the law.

*C. S.* That I shall do whether I abandon colonizationism or not. But it may be many years—it may be half a century—before we can succeed in procuring the repeal of the law. Meanwhile, what am I to do with my slaves?

*Mr. B.* Why, if the law makes them bond-men, that you know is not your fault. You can quiet your conscience by a mental renunciation of the right of property.

*C. S.* Mental renunciation of the right of property! What practical benefit will such a renunciation confer upon my slave? Will it save him from the penalties imposed by our slave code? Will it authorize me to teach him to read and write? If I am unfortunate in business, will it prevent him from being sold at auction to pay my debts? If I die, will it keep him from going to my heirs? Will not he and his children still be liable at every turn, to fall into the hands of a cruel master? Do you seriously think, Mr. Birney, that I could retain my slave, and satisfy my conscience with a mental renunciation of the right of property, if I knew that I had it in my power to place him in a country where he and his children would be free, and where all his interests would be under the guardian care of a benevolent society, composed of some of the best men in this country? Which course is the most consistent with the law of love—that which you recommend, or that adopted by the friends of colonization?

Think, Mr. Birney, what it is to be a *slave*—to be treated not as a man, but as a personal chattel, a thing that may be bought and sold—to have no right to the fruits of your own labor—no right to your own wife and your own children—liable at any moment to be separated, at the arbitrary will of another, from your dearest relatives and friends—deprived by law of all opportunity of cultivating your intellect—refused the privilege of even learning to read the Bible—compelled to know that the purity of your wife and daughters is exposed, without protection of law, to the assaults of brutal white men! Think of this, and of all the nameless horrors that are concentrated in that one word, *slavery*, and then say, Mr. Birney, will you still advise the people of the North to abandon colonization? Will you advise them to deprive me of the power of rescuing fifty of my fellow-men from such calamities? Will you deprive other Christian slaveholders, situated as I am, of the power of rescuing thousands? Will you take the responsibility of dooming these thousands to all the miseries of the condition we have described, until you can effect a total revolution in the social and civil condition of six millions of men!

5. *Colonization causes the subject of slavery to be discussed AT THE SOUTH, in a manner calculated to produce the happiest effects on the cause of emancipation.*

Anti-colonizationists are agitating the subject of slavery *at the North*, where there is no slavery, and where the anti-slavery feeling is so strong, that it frequently manifests itself in language which requires rather reproof than encouragement. No wise man acquainted with the pulse of the nation on the subject of slavery would think of applying *stimulants at the North*.

But Colonization awakens inquiry, discussion and action *at the South*, where action is wanted. Every Christian slaveholder, who emancipates his slaves, and sends them to Liberia, remains ever afterwards a standing monument of the triumph of Christian principle over selfish interest—a constant, living reproof to all who still retain their fellow-men in bondage. All the neighbours of such a man, and all who become acquainted with his history, are compelled to know that he has impoverished himself, because his conscience could not tolerate slavery; they see in his noble sacrifices the very best evidence of his sincerity, and they cannot fail to inquire, whenever they see him or think of him, “Is it right to hold men in slavery?”

Of what force, comparatively, would be the example of this slaveholder, if he were obliged to confine himself (as Anti-colonizationists recommend) to a *mental renunciation* of the right of property in his slaves—a renunciation, which the law would treat as a nullity, and which might be mentally retracted, at any moment, without the knowledge of the community. From the nature of the case how is it possible that such a renunciation could have an effect equal to that of actual emancipation.

Finally, we may ask, how many Anti-slavery Societies and Anti-slavery periodicals at the North will it take to produce the same happy effect on public sentiment at the South, which may be produced by the example of one distinguished Christian slaveholder who sacrifices his whole property by sending his slaves to Liberia? And yet, the first thing, the great thing, and hitherto almost the only thing, aimed at by these societies and periodicals, has been to destroy the only institution which enables us to present such examples to the people of the South

6. *It is possible for the American people of the present generation to esta-*



*blish colonies in Africa, which will diffuse the light of civilization and Christianity over the whole of that continent.*

All will admit that to Christianize Africa is a glorious enterprise; and if it can be accomplished by colonization, no philanthropist, and especially no Christian, will say that colonization ought to be lightly abandoned. And can it not be accomplished by colonization? What stands in the way? It is certain that territory to an almost unlimited extent can be procured from the natives of Africa at a very moderate expense. Let then Colonization Societies continue to purchase territory and select the most eligible spot for settlement—let them clear the lands, divide them into farms, erect comfortable dwellings and barns, provide agricultural implements, and multiply comforts and conveniences of every kind, till they can offer these farms to actual settlers on such terms as will tempt 100,000 of the sober and industrious colored men of this country to go to Liberia and occupy them; let care be taken to send out with every company of emigrants a schoolmaster for every 100 children, and an evangelical colored minister, (well educated in some seminary established for the purpose in this country) for every 1,000 souls; let benevolent individuals and societies endow schools and colleges in the colonies, supply every family with Bibles and Tracts, support temperance agents, and keep all the machinery of moral reform in constant motion—and what is to prevent these 100,000 from growing by natural increase, like the first settlers of this country, in twenty-five years to 200,000; in fifty years to 400,000, and in two hundred years to 12 or 15,000,000 free, enlightened Christians, constituting at the end of that time a nation as numerous and powerful as the people of the United States now are, and exerting in every period of its history, through its missionary and other benevolent societies, the most salutary influence over Africa?

Why is not all this possible? The Anti-colonizationist will say, perhaps, "if the people are treated as they ought to be treated in this country, 100,000 of them could never be induced to go to Liberia." But why not? If a company of benevolent men were to purchase a territory in Illinois or Missouri, cut it up into farms, clear the land, and every where put up school-houses and meeting-houses at convenient distances, could they not offer these farms on terms that would tempt 100,000 New Englanders to quit their native mountains and emigrate thither? Are not New-Englanders, in fact, constantly emigrating to the West by thousands without any such temptation? And do these emigrants leave their native country because they are cruelly treated there? Do they not merely change a good country for one which, on the whole, is more eligible. And may we not treat the colored people as they ought to be treated in this country, and still offer them sufficient inducements to emigrate to Liberia?

Perhaps it will be said that the people of this country will never voluntarily contribute the large sums which will be wanted to clear the land, build the houses, and provide the other conveniences necessary to tempt 100,000 colored people to Africa. Why not? Suppose that the sum wanted should be \$100 for every man, woman, and child, or \$500 for every family; (and surely there are colored men enough in the United States who could be tempted by \$500 to take up their residence in such a country as Liberia would be on the plan proposed,) even at this rate the whole sum wanted would be only \$10,000,000. And is it visionary to expect from the people of this country the voluntary contribution of \$10,000,000 for the accomplishment of all the glorious objects embraced in the establishment of the proposed colony? This objection comes with an ill grace from anti-colonizationists. They are expecting to persuade *one-third part* of the people of the United States, (and that part the *slaveholders*!—



men whom they often denounce as destitute of all Christian and truly generous feeling,) voluntarily and instantly to surrender property to the value of \$500,000,000! If it is not extravagant to expect this, it certainly is not extravagant to expect that *the whole* nation may contribute for the promotion of a cause equally glorious, \$10,000,000—which is only *one fiftieth part, or four months' interest*, of the sum to be sacrificed by the *slaveholders!*

But Mr. Birney will say, the colonization of America did not Christianize the natives of America, and there is no reason, therefore, to believe that the Colonization of Africa will Christianize Africa. We are surprised that Mr. B. should suffer himself to build arguments on such loose analogies. What resemblance is there in the two cases? The colonists and natives in America were men of different colors and different races. In the English colonies they did not amalgamate, and the natives there melted away before the whites; but wherever the two races have amalgamated, as they have in Mexico and many parts of South America, the mixed race have uniformly adopted the manners and religion of the white man. Can any man doubt that the colonists and natives in Africa will amalgamate—men of the same color and of the same race, and who can trace themselves to a common ancestry, by going back, in most cases, *less than one century!* There can be no doubt on this point, and if Christians in this country and in the colony do not wholly neglect their duty, there can be no doubt that the united race will adopt the manners and religion of the colonists.

Admit, however, for argument's sake, that the cases of Africa and America are in all respects parallel. Let now Mr. Birney throw himself back in history for two centuries; let him imagine himself in Great Britain, in 1620, and let the problem be proposed to him, How can North America be filled in the speediest manner with a civilized and Christian people? Would he say, 'Forbid all white men from landing on its shores, except Christian missionaries!' How many civilized men and Christians would there have been in America at the present day, if this course had been pursued, taking the success of British Christians, meanwhile, in converting other portions of the heathen world, as the criterion of what they would have done for North America? Will not even Mr. Birney admit that the American colonists, (shamefully as they have neglected their duty) have probably employed more missionaries among the Indians, and have done more for their conversion, than would have been done by the parent country if no colonies had been planted? Will he not admit that, taking whites and Indians together, the number of Christians in North America at the present time, is greater than it would have been if his missionary plan had been adopted? Will he not admit, that in a little more than three centuries, from the landing of the pilgrims on the rock at Plymouth, there will be in North America 200,000,000 Protestant Christians, as the fruits of the plan of colonization! Can he believe that any results of equal importance would have followed the efforts of Christian missionaries laboring alone among bands of savages? Will he not admit, then, that on the whole, the plan of colonization may have been the best mode of spreading civilization and Christianity in North America? And if the cases of North America and Africa are in all material respects parallel, as his argument supposes, is it not possible that, on the whole, Colonization may be the best mode of diffusing civilization and Christianity in Africa?

## PROFESSOR STOWE ON COLONIZATION.

*Sketches of Professor Stowe's remarks at a meeting in behalf of the American Colonization Society, held in the Second Presbyterian Church, Cincinnati, on the evening of June 9th, 1834.*

MR. CHAIRMAN,—I am not accustomed to speak in public, except on subjects connected with my own profession, and nothing would have induced me to appear before this assembly on the present occasion, but the conviction that great injustice has been done to the friends of the American Colonization Society. I have for some time been acquainted with the Society, and have always supposed that its intentions were benevolent, and its influence beneficial; nor have I yet reason to change my opinion. Many are now zealously engaged in laboring to destroy public confidence in this institution, and with some of the men who are thus engaged, I am personally acquainted, and I know them to be men of intelligence, integrity and Christian feeling; but on this point it seems to me that they have sorely misjudged. To illustrate the nature of the hostility to which I refer, I will make a few extracts from recent publications. When speaking of a late document of the managers respecting the debt of the society, one writer expresses himself as follows:

"We need only extract from this document that part which relates directly to the debt, to show to every man who unites *honesty* with a moderate share of intelligence, that the society is still conducted, as it has been, with a *total want of principle*."—*Anti-Slavery Reporter*, vol. 1, p. 50.

Another writer has these remarks:

"The Superstructure of the Colonization Society rests upon the following pillars: 1. Persecution. 2. Falsehood. 3. Cowardice. 4. Infidelity. If I do not prove the Colonization Society to be a creature without heart, without brains, useless, unnatural, hypocritical, relentless, unjust, then nothing is capable of demonstration. W. L. GARRISON."

In the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, vol. 1. p. 49, I find the following:

"But if they could make Liberia a paradise, the plan would be liable to two objections. 1. It would involve a despair of gaining a victory over prejudice here. 2. It would involve an immense waste of labor in doing that at a distance, which could be done more easily at home." Again on the same page:

"We regard the Colonization scheme, under whatever modifications, and by whomsoever advocated: as but the out-breaking of that spirit of slavery which rivets the chains of two millions of our brethren. In saying this, we do not as a matter of course, impeach the motives of all those who advocate it. Some there are who may be permitted to save their benevolence at the expense of their wisdom."

Notwithstanding this sweeping denunciation and its *saving clause*, I must still say that I am a friend to the Colonization Society; and yet no friend to slavery, and neither a knave nor a dupe; at least, I hope not.

I have endeavored to make myself acquainted with the objections which conscientious men feel against the Colonization Society; and if I understand them, they may all be comprised under the following:

1st. Its undertaking is chimerical:

2d. It is founded in prejudice.

3d. It encourages and tends to perpetuate slavery.

4th. It obstructs the elevation and improvement of the colored people in this country.

I am certain that these objections do not lie against any scheme of Colonization which I am interested to defend.

The principles on which I advocate colonization are the following:

1. I regard it as a necessary means of immediate relief from the miseries of slavery, where nothing else can afford relief:

I will illustrate this principle by an example. In the year 1776 the Friends in the United States declared slavery to be inconsistent with the principles of christianity; and prohibited it among members of their body. Many of this denomination at that time held slaves in states where the education of the blacks and their emancipation upon the soil forbidden by law. The Friends of the yearly meeting of North Carolina, including Tennessee and Virginia, amounting to seven or eight thousand in number, petitioned the Legislature of North Carolina for permission to emancipate their slaves. It

They continued to press the Legislature with petition after petition for with no better success. They at length, without law, emancipated their slaves, and of those emancipated slaves more than one hundred were taken up and sold into perpetual and hopeless bondage, under the laws of the state. Emancipation was plainly impossible in the existing state of public feeling. They gave out of their hands that they might no longer hold them as property. But this course exposed them to vexatious and expensive suits for the recovery of more than forty slaves held in this manner. They left, they have for ten years past expended more than \$20,000, in procuring asylums for



Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana, in Hayti, whither they have sent 119, and in Liberia.—At length the free states were shut against them. They applied to Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York, but in vain. No place seemed open but Canada, and that is too cold for blacks born in North Carolina. About two years since, they embarked one hundred of their liberated slaves for Pennsylvania. They were refused a landing in the state. They went over to New Jersey. The same refusal met them there. They were then left to float up and down the Delaware river without a spot of dry land to set their feet upon, till the Colonization Society took them up and gave them a resting place in Liberia.

They have now five hundred slaves left, whom they are anxious to liberate; and what shall they do? Get the laws of the state altered? They labored after that for forty years, and more than one whole generation of black men died in bondage while their masters were striving to effectuate *immediate emancipation*. IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION they found to be *so slow a process* that they were obliged to resort to COLONIZATION, in order that something might be done *immediately*. And in such instances, what possible mode of *immediate relief* is there except colonization? Shall they resist the laws of the state?—This would be contrary to the principles of Quakerism: and on this point at least, the unlawfulness of aggressive resistance even to legalized oppression, the wrongfulness of destroying human life for the attainment of any political purpose—on this point I must conceive that Quakerism is christianity.

Does colonization, founded on this principle, encourage slavery, or obstruct the improvement of the negro race? Is it chimerical, or founded in prejudice? It may be said, indeed, that the oppressive laws are founded in prejudice, but is it prejudice that induces us to aid the oppressed in escaping from those laws? And even supposing it were so; should a man in distress reject the only means of relief, for an apprehension that he who proffers the relief, or some one else, with whom he is in some way connected, entertains a prejudice against him? To illustrate my reasoning by an analogous example. At present the Jews in Persia are exposed to the most cruel oppression, while the emperor of Russia indulges them with peculiar privileges. If now an association should be formed in Persia, to relieve the Jews from their sufferings, and aid them in emigrating to Russia, and some friends of the Jews should rise up and say: 'Do not go to Russia, it is mere prejudice that occasions your sufferings, and the same prejudice actuates the members of the *emigration society*; therefore stay here and be quiet;' would such a procedure be thought indicative of the wisdom of benevolence? If the opposers of emigration had it in their power to change the spirit of the government, or if any good purpose could be effected by the Jews remaining in Persia, which could not be effected otherwise, then indeed there would be more reason to oppose their emigration; but I much fear that generation after generation of the oppressed Israelites would groan and wither and perish under their sufferings, while their disinterested friends were effecting an immediate change in their favor.

2. I approve of colonization, because I suppose it to be necessary as a preliminary step to emancipation.

People in slave-holding communities generally regard slavery as an evil, but an evil which has grown so interwoven with the texture of society, that disruption would be a greater calamity, than slavery itself. They are apt to think with themselves, 'either that we or the slaves must be sacrificed. We are the superiors; it is, therefore, reasonable that the slaves should be kept in ignorance and subjection, in order to prevent a much greater evil.' With them, accordingly, slavery is a prohibited topic; they will enter into no argument, they will hear no reason on the subject, unless in connection with some plan by which their own safety can be secured, while the rights of the slave are restored. Colonization affords such a plan, and in connection with colonization the whole subject of slavery can be introduced and discussed, without awakening fears and exciting prejudices which preclude conviction. This is the great thing necessary to produce universal emancipation. On this point I will introduce the testimony of a gentleman familiar with this whole subject, and a zealous friend of emancipation. I refer to the Rev. Mr. Young, president of the college at Danville, Ky. and president also of the Emancipation Society in that state. In a letter to a gentleman in this city, he observes: 'I speak that which I know, when I say that the Colonization Society has done immense service to the cause of emancipation in our state.' (Ken.) 'There is not an intelligent man in the State, but will bear me out in this declaration, that we are much further advanced on the road to emancipation, than we could have been, if the Colonization Society had never existed.'

The Colonization Society has already produced the emancipation of not far from three thousand slaves, and the education and consequent elevation of hundreds. By this means the negro character is vindicated, and the deep and damning wrong of slavery illustrated; for it is my firm conviction, that it is a sort of half persuasion that the negro was made for slavery, and is fit for nothing else, is the great thing that makes men of principle quiet in the possession of slaves. Let them see that the negroes are really men, and they cannot bring their consciences to grind into the earth and brutify by slavery the intelligent souls and the immortal spirits of their fellow men.

In advocating colonization on this principle, is there any thing chimerical, or prejudiced, or encouraging to slavery, or adverse to the improvement of the colored race?

3. I am in favor of colonization, because I suppose it to be right, and agreeable to God's

design, that the different races of men should continue to be distinct, and each reside in the climate best adapted to their physical and intellectual development.

In all animals the physical organization is adapted to the climate and modes of life appropriate to each; and with a great change of these, either the physical organization changes, or the race degenerates, and finally becomes extinct. All men are descended from the same common stock; and all differences among them are the results of the cause above-mentioned. These differences are no greater than changes which have been known to take place in other animals, extensively migratory, such as the dog, the sheep, &c.—Blumenback selects the swine as affording instances of variety nearly as great as that which exists in the human species. In Normandy this animal is almost perfectly white, and the stiff bristles are exchanged for a warm coat of nearly the softness of hair. In the year 1519, the first swine were carried by the Spaniards to the Island of Cuba; and now the swine of that Island, though all descended of the common species, are of twice the usual size, and with a solid instead of divided hoof. There are differences equally great in the bones of this animal, as the cranium, legs, &c.; as found in different climates and different modes of life.

Man resists changes of this kind more effectually than any other animal; still they have an influence upon him. A man of English descent, of second or third generation, in a tropical climate, unless his physical structure has been in some degree changed, has not the capacities and energies of an Englishman of the temperate regions. The woolly hair and dark skin are evidently adapted to warm climates; and those are the situations for the physical and intellectual development of the negro race. Where shall we find the most favorable exhibitions of the negro character? In the cold regions of the north? or in Egypt and Ethiopia? in Carthage and Morocco? in the West Indies and Brazil?

They need not go to Africa, to find a place fitted for their residence, unless they choose to do so; there are places enough on this continent, and within the limits of the United States, should it be found expedient and for their advantage that they should remain here. The Colonization Society advocates no coercive removal; and I am for having the rights of the black man fully recognized on his soil, and then leaving it to his own free choice, whether to emigrate or not.

Should the two races ever become entirely equal, and should there remain no accidental associations of superiority or degradation connected with the external physical differences, I have not a doubt that they would harmoniously and entirely withdraw from each other on the principle of *elective affinity*. A desire to tyrannize over inferiors, or to associate with superiors, may hold the two races together while this *unnatural* distinction exists; but let it be removed, and without prejudice or hatred, each will have a *simple preference* for its own kind.

These are the principles on which I defend colonization; and if the American Colonization Society, as such, acts on principles in any way contrary to these, let me see the evidence of the fact, and I will no longer be its friend; but while it has such principles and such purposes in view, nothing shall induce me to join in the crusade against it.

True, it has nothing to do with the emancipation of slaves, and it ought not to have.—This would but encumber and impede its operations. Let there be other associations to promote the great and good work of emancipation; but let not the Colonization Society deviate from its specific, definite and good purpose of helping those colored people to Africa, who wish to go there. It is essential to success and usefulness, that every institution pursue its own peculiar, specific object, without intermeddling with others. Why should theological seminaries make it a prominent object of pursuit, to prevent the explosion of steamboat boilers? This is undoubtedly a good object, but not exactly appropriate to theological institutions.

Having spoken thus far in behalf of colonization, I must be permitted to add, that I have sometimes heard things said by colonization men, and seen things published in colonization documents, which I by no means approve, and which do not accord with the sentiments of those colonizationists with whom I sympathize. A few words on these points and I will close.

1. I do not advocate colonization, because I suppose the prejudice against the colored people in this country to be either justifiable or invincible.

"God hath made of one blood all nations of men, for to dwell on all the face of the earth;" and when Bishop Meade said that the colored people were created in the image of God, *in some respects*, I doubt not but he meant they are the image of God, *in as many respects* as the white people are. The prejudice which exists in this country against the negro race has no good foundation; neither nature, nor religion, nor humanity sanction it. There is nothing in the physical or intellectual nature of the negro, that can be offensive to the man unperturbed by early and wicked associations.

History gives full testimony that this prejudice against the negro color and features has no foundation in nature. The ancient Egyptians and Ethiopians were clearly of the black race. Herodotus affirms that the Colchians must have been descended from the Egyptians, "because," says he, "they have black skins and frizzled hair;" and Buckhardt affirms that the Ethiopians are distinguishable from the negroes of the interior of Africa, not by the color of hair, but by the superior beauty of their forms, and the greater softness



of their skins. (Herodotus, b. ii. c. 505. Modern Traveler, c. xxvi. p. 255.) Did Herodotus feel any repugnance to these ancient nations on account of their color? No, he celebrates the Egyptians as the greatest of men, and the civilizers of the world, and twice mentions the Ethiopians as the largest and the most beautiful of men. (B. iii. c. 20, 114.) Homer bears a similar testimony respecting the Ethiopians, and makes them the favorites of the gods. (Odyss. b. i. 1, 22, f. Iliad. b. i. 1, 423, f.) In the minds of these noble old Greeks, the black skin and woolly hair, instead of being associated with the meanness and misery of slavery, were associated with that which is noble in civilization, and respectable in learning, and delightful in the arts, and splendid in military achievements. The descendant of Ham, though he has been for ages *a servant of servants to his brethren*, was the first to light the lamp of science to the world, and rear those stupendous works of art, the remains of which, after so many centuries, astonish even those who have been accustomed to all that Greek and Roman and modern art can achieve. The negro is not, in any respect, inferior to the white man, and in appropriate circumstances, he might again rise to the rank which he anciently held. Notwithstanding the iron bondage which has oppressed him in modern times, and paralyzed his energies, the occasional superiority of individuals shows that the race has not lost its place among the human species. The talents and attainments of Lislet, of Arno; of Derham, of New-Orleans; of Toussaint and Christophe were enough to extort the admiration of the most prejudiced.

Men always hate and despise those whom they oppress, and thus attempt to cheat and silence conscience. It is because the negro has been oppressed, that he is hated and despised. The Jews were for ages the objects of bitter oppression in Europe, and were then hated and despised; while their distinctive features and peculiar modes of life marked them out for insult and abuse. It is but little more than fifty years, since a rich Jew in Germany contributed largely to the rebuilding of a village that had been destroyed by fire, and having occasion to pass that way two years after, he was forbidden to enter the village, because the inhabitants would not have their soil polluted by the step of an Israelite. I am not informed whether the village was called CANTERBURY, but I am sure that it deserves as high a note in the trumpet of fame. During the wars of Bonaparte, the Jews became rich, and in some instances got possession of the lands and mansions of the nobility. The populace were enraged to see the hated Jews thus prosperous; and in the year 1820 they rose at Meningen, at Wurtsburg on the Rhine, at Hamburg, and Copenhagen, and murdered many of them in cold blood, and the utmost efforts of the magistrates and the military scarcely saved them from a general massacre. This prejudice against Jews seems quite unaccountable to us; but it has exactly the same foundation with our prejudice against negroes. It is founded in oppression and wickedness. The prejudice against the negro arises from oppression and wickedness; it is itself wickedness, and therefore it is neither justifiable nor invincible. I will never admit an argument which rests on the perpetuity of human wickedness, I will not believe that there is an evil in the human heart, which the gospel cannot cure.

But this prejudice, unjust and wicked as it is, will not be subdued at once; nor will the negro find *immediate emancipation* from the oppression of public sentiment. I am not sure that it will require any less time and effort and expense to subdue this prejudice and bring up the race to their proper standing in the face of it, than it would to furnish a distant asylum for them all, and transport and provide for them there. I am thankful that this prejudice is not universal and unbroken. By the constitutions of twelve of the U. States, Maine, New-Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New-York, (if they are freeholders,) New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virginia, N. Carolina, Georgia, and Tennessee, black men are allowed to vote and are eligible to office. In a city of New-England I have known a negro to be elected to a city office for several years in succession, by the suffrages of the citizens; I have known three black men, Russwurm, of Bowdoin College, Mitchell of Dartmouth, and Jones of Amherst, to study without insult, and graduate with honor in three different New England colleges; and I once myself introduced a black man (a Mr. Butler, of Canada) to the students of Dartmouth college, whom he wished to address; and they listened to him with the utmost decorum and attention and sympathy. Would to heaven that such incidents were more frequent.

2. I do not advocate colonization because I suppose it to be an adequate remedy for slavery, much less the only remedy.

The pecuniary interests and the prejudices of the white man are not the only things to be regarded; but the natural and inalienable rights, the long-continued and cruel wrongs of the black man, also claim our attention and our sympathy. Many of them choose to remain in this country, and they are needed, especially in the Southern parts of our Union.

I suppose that emancipation is safe, and that the negroes can easily be made capable of taking care of themselves. Many of them certainly do maintain themselves, bring profit to their masters, and pay from six hundred to one thousand dollars for the purchase of their freedom; and if they can do this, they can surely maintain themselves and families when their freedom is given them. In every instance, I believe, where emancipation has taken place, it has been found safe, and mutually a benefit to the master and slave. Emancipation is safe; but who have the right or the power to emancipate? Certainly, they who

have slaves, and they only: but as the whole country has participated in the guilt (and gains, if any there are) of slavery, it seems to me no more than right that the whole country should share the expenses of emancipation.

Slavery is unmixed evil; it is all abomination; there is no good connected with it, either to the master or the slave; and the more society advances, the more intolerable does slavery become. This evil must come to an end, or we as a nation must perish; and the only question is, how can the business be brought to a close with the least injury and the greatest amount of good, to all concerned?

In respect to the colony at Liberia, we hear very contradictory statements. Evils undoubtedly exist, such as attend all new settlements, and some perhaps which are peculiar; but I have not yet seen evidence that the colonists have suffered half the calamities which attended the early settlement of New-England, of Virginia, or of this western country. I suppose that all the evils which exist are susceptible of remedy, and that the Society is able and willing to apply the remedy; otherwise, I would say, let Liberia be abandoned, and a better place provided, and better plans pursued. The good of the black man, and not merely the pecuniary interests of the white man, is the object aimed at by the Colonization Society; and I will never knowingly raise my hand or utter a word in favor of any scheme of colonization in which this great object is lost sight of, or holds only a subordinate place.

The good, the permanent and highest good of both classes of the community, the white and the black, is to be secured; and to secure the good of both, should be the object of all our plans and efforts.—*Cincinnati Journal*.

## BRITISH AND FOREIGN SOCIETY FOR THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.

[ From the Philadelphia Presbyterian, Oct. 16, 1834.]

*To the Editor of the Presbyterian,*

SIR:—I enclose for insertion in your valuable journal, the following extraordinary document. It is my purpose for the present, rather to spread it out before the American people, and let it speak for itself, than to give a minute review. The following hints, however, indicate some of its unhappy, not to say unwarrantable and dangerous features.

1. The paper throughout, displays the most puerile, and for *Reformers*, unpardonable ignorance of the true state of the question, in the United States.

2. The arrogant claims of these foreigners are even ludicrous. They claim the credit of having greatly contributed to excite the public mind in our Northern States, on the subject of slavery. So far as visionary schemes and violent measures have been adopted, they may perhaps take the credit of their projection; but Christianity and American principles have, under God, done the actual good that has been done for the poor slave, and the degraded freeman of color. On the other hand, there is no question that the foreign emissaries, who have recently arrived in this country, uniting with the *Garrisons* in America, have retarded, for almost one generation, the cause of African freedom and elevation in the United States.

3. The unjustifiable officiousness of the spirit manifested in this document, will meet a merited rebuke, as it must excite an honest indignation, in every American bosom. The British nation first made us *slaveholders*; next, she tried to put fetters on us. We have taught her a lesson which she ought not to forget. Let her try her Reform on India, and Ireland, and her unhappy and oppressed millions at home, before she begins her rash knight errantry on our shores, and creates discord and indiscreet zeal among our population.

4. This paper, with its plans and results, seals the fate of the present system of *Abolition* in the United States. Nothing more is wanting to prove to every American citizen, that Abolitionism, as opposed to the practicable plan of gradual emancipation, is *reckless* of all consequences;



and when these rash men invite British men and British gold "TO AGITATE" our country, let them know that, by the act, they declare war against our social relations, our constitution, and our nation itself. Mr. Garrison has done this *openly*, both in England and in this country.

5. Let the friends of the black man, the friends of their country, the friends of order and of Christ, be wise, faithful, and united, and the present crisis will unfold, freedom to the slave, a Christian empire to Africa, and deliverance to our country from the greatest of all evils, and of all sins.

AN ABOLITIONIST OF THE OLD SCHOOL.

*Circular Letter of the British and Foreign Society for the Universal Abolition of Negro Slavery, and the Slave Trade, to the Anti-Slavery Associations, and the Friends of Negro Emancipation throughout the United Kingdom.*

It has long been the subject of anxious consideration among many of the friends of Negro Emancipation, how far it is expedient to continue those associations which were established during the colonial controversy, to promote the Anti-Slavery feeling of the country.

It was felt on the one hand, that although this great question has been set at rest, probably for ever, so far as respects Slavery in our own Colonies, yet, that the imperfect manner in which the measure of abolition has been introduced and carried, leaves too much room to fear, that further exertions may still be necessary for the full establishment of the Negro in his acknowledged rights, and for his protection in the enjoyment of them hereafter. It was also considered, that while slavery exists under the sanction of any civilized state, the moral influence of Great Britain ought to be powerfully exerted to effect its utter and immediate extinction—that the deep conviction of religious duty that prompted us to the course which we successfully followed at home, should impel us to similar zeal and exertion, in the use of every legitimate means to attain the same end abroad. *Slavery, wherever it exists, is the same moral deformity, the same crime before God; and ought to be viewed with detestation, and reprobated with boldness, by every man who professes to act on Christian principles.*

On the other hand, it could not be denied, that the unparalleled exertions made by the Anti-Slavery public during the last two years, were too great to be readily continued, when the personal interest of the question had subsided; nor would it be reasonable to expect a further sacrifice of money, as well as of time and labor, from those who had already done their utmost to acquit their country of its share of guilt. In fact, many who were most anxious to extend the operation of British benevolence to other Slave-holding countries, were not less reluctant to appear encroaching on the generosity of their fellow-subjects, and to make a second appeal to the liberality of those, whose means, so far as they were reasonably applicable to a distinct and peculiar object of charity, seemed almost exhausted.

While these conflicting considerations rendered it difficult to decide on which side the path of duty lay, circumstances have occurred both in this country and in America, which have determined the Agency Anti-Slavery Committee in their course.

It appears that in the northern States of the Union, a very powerful interest in behalf of the slave has lately been excited. It may be expedient to advert to some facts connected with American Slavery, not generally known to the British public, although many of them have appeared in recent publications.

Slavery obtains in America to a far greater extent, and in some respects, in a far more degraded form, if possible, than it assumed in our own Colonies. It is confined to the States below 36 degrees N. latitude, but the number of slaves below this limit, exceeds two millions. In some places, (as South Carolina for example) education is prohibited by law, and a free person of color cannot enter the territory. Slave evidence is wholly inadmissible, except against each other. Trial by jury, even in capital cases, is denied; and, as the necessary consequence of such a system, the most barbarous usage is the rule, and kindness the rare exception. Cruelty, starvation, separation of families, and all the crimes in that black catalogue of oppression, with which we are at length familiar, prevail, with this peculiar and monstrous aggravation, that the Slave *cannot* be made free! Such is the well founded jealousy entertained of the very first step towards emancipation, that even the reluctant and conscientious slave possessor, is restrained by law from divesting himself of the iniquitous property—he dare not and cannot emancipate his slave, except at the penalty of banishing him from home and family; for to emancipate him, he must first conduct him to another State, and leave him in exile for ever!

The condition of the free people of color in America, whose number exceeds 300,000, is only in a slight degree advanced. Their acquired privileges are but scanty and unsubstantial; their degradation is intolerable; their gradual banishment from the States is generally considered a maxim of national policy. It is scarcely necessary to add, that the internal slave trade is carried on with all its most disgusting and loathsome incidents—husbands and wives, mothers and children, are publicly exposed to auction, and handled



and examined like cattle, and then separated for ever with as little compunction, as sheep or oxen in our markets.

The horrible details of the system are to be found in many recent publications; and many of them are given at length in a work of acknowledged accuracy, MR. STUART'S "Three Years in America." For the present, therefore, it is unnecessary to dwell upon them.

It could not be expected that such a state of things should have failed altogether in awakening the sympathy and indignation of many good men in America. But such is the hardening tendency of familiarity with Slavery, and of habitual and national contempt of color, that till lately, a better feeling has made but very little progress, even in the northern States. Some good men have exerted themselves with perseverance and energy, to effect a revolution in the public mind. They have received, however, but little encouragement, and less support. Not deterred by this, they recently established a National Anti-Slavery Society at Philadelphia, under very favorable auspices, and with a fair promise of ultimate success: but still their number is too few, in proportion to the vast extent of country over which their labours must be distributed; and their financial resources too scanty, on an occasion which America has never yet regarded as one of charity, not to feel dismayed at the difficulty of their gigantic undertaking.

These good men have entreated our assistance: they have heard, and some of them have witnessed the wonderful success, which, under the blessing of Almighty God, attended the measures adopted in this country in kindling an Anti-Slavery feeling, and they have resolved to follow the example; their object is to propagate their principles throughout the States by lectures and daily publications; to combine and lead the efforts of their fellow-labourers in the extensive field before them, by the same means of affiliated associations and central correspondence; and they are resolved to adopt, and faithfully to adhere to the same right principles on which our country acted—*Slavery is a crime before God, and must therefore be abolished.*

The Committee could not be insensible to such an appeal. It was too nearly allied to those feelings which supported and stimulated them through their own arduous conflict, to be received with indifference; but when this alone had almost decided them on the duty of continuing their associated existence, they found from the letters of their friends in many parts of the country, that a similar anxiety generally prevailed to make themselves of further use, if it was considered in London that ought remained to do in this great cause. In some places, the Committee found themselves (for the first time they hope) anticipated in zeal. In Scotland and Liverpool especially, large sums were already subscribed for the same object, and it became obvious that a central and metropolitan committee would eventually become indispensably necessary, to conduct the intended operations upon any really efficient scale.

Under these circumstances the Committee re-assembled, and after a full consideration of the course which it became them to take, have re-organized themselves into the *British and Foreign Society, for the Universal Abolition of Negro Slavery, and the Slave Trade.*

Their whole purpose is explained under this general title, and they hope that they shall be enabled by the support of the country to accomplish these extensive objects. One of their first duties will be to give to the Anti-Slavery cause in America, all the assistance which can be supplied in sending to them Lecturers of acknowledged power, and in disseminating that information which may keep alive an active and profitable interest in their proceedings, in the United Kingdom. To effect the first and most important object, and to secure the co-operation of those most able and valuable men, who have distinguished themselves not less by their talents than their zeal, in the service of the Committee, it is calculated that a minimum income of £1500 per annum will be required for a term of three years; by which time it is hoped that American feeling will be sufficiently excited to dispense with all pecuniary assistance from strangers.

The second object can only be prosecuted in subordination to the first—and the extent to which it is attempted, will of course depend on the degree of encouragement which may from time to time be given by the country.

The Committee feel it right to explain on this occasion, that the line of duty which they have here chalked out for themselves, will not require that busy and unceasing exertion, and voluminous correspondence which necessarily attended their past labours. They mention this, not only to quiet apprehension as to the probable expense of their proceedings, but to allay any anxiety that may naturally be felt by their provincial allies, that a repetition will follow of those frequent calls upon their time which were absolutely inevitable, during the two years immediately preceding the passing of the Abolition Bill. The system of *agitation* then pursued, was essentially expensive and troublesome even to irritation; but it was indispensable, and it may not be unseasonable to mention, that its power is now acknowledged, even by men in power, who were most sensibly annoyed by its action, to have mainly contributed to the success of the measure. Such, however, are no longer the tactics necessary to follow. The steady and unwearied support of the Anti-Slavery public, unaided by the excitement of popular meetings, but sustained by a calm and conscientious principle of religious duty, is all they ask; and, by the blessing of God, will prove sufficient.

In the preceding explanation of their immediate object, and of the circumstances which have led them to recommence their Anti-Slavery exertions, the Committee repeat their wish, that it may be distinctly understood, that it is by no means intended to confine themselves to the cause of emancipation in America. The extent to which they may hereafter proceed, must necessarily depend upon the encouragement which they receive from the public; but when the public are made fully conscious of the vast claims that the negro still possesses on their sympathy, it cannot be doubted but that their support will prove both liberal and constant.

Not less than FIVE MILLIONS of our fellow creatures are still detained in hopeless bondage by the avarice and cruelty of man. Treaties have been made with ostentatious regard to the interests of humanity, and have been buried in the mysterious recesses of Downing Street, forgotten and disregarded! Laws and ordinances have been promulgated with busy zeal, to silence the remonstrances of British benevolence, and those laws have become a dead letter, ere the ink which recorded them was dry! It would be imprudent here to advert to facts which have from time to time been loudly whispered abroad, but there is too much reason to believe, that the extensive trade still carried on in the French, Spanish, and Portuguese colonies, is sustained by British capital, and screened by British ingenuity. In Cuba and the Brazils, and in some of the French colonies, the market for human cattle is daily supplied from the coast of Africa; while the mines of Chili and Peru are peopled with miserable, though guiltless victims, whose blood is drained by a system of unparalleled horror, to fill the pockets of English shareholders! These things pass unheeded, because they are unknown; and there is no voice to make them known; for the cry of humanity jars with the soft tones of foreign diplomacy, and is lost in the heartless labyrinth of political negotiation!

The Committee wish to become the mouthpiece of their suffering and enslaved fellow-creatures throughout the world. They seek to unfold the secrets of every prison-house to the light of day—to give loud utterance to the groans of the captive negro, whether lashed to his task under the scorching rays of a tropical sun, or chained to labour in the abysses of a Peruvian mine: they hope that by thus forcing the subject on the frequent attention of their countrymen, they shall bring to his aid the protecting influence of Parliament: they may thereby secure the faithful observance of treaties, whose salutary provisions for the restriction of the Slave Trade are now slumbering in the closet of the minister: and may reasonably expect to find the influence of this country exerted in good faith, to induce other States to follow the noble example which she has given to them.

They are not unconscious of the magnitude, and, as some may consider it, the presumption of these pretensions; but they cannot forget, that emancipation even in our own colonies was, but a few years since, regarded as the dream of visionary enthusiasts! as a fanciful Utopian scheme impracticable to man! Yet by the blessing of God upon their labours, and with no other guide than principle to direct them, and no other aid than a few subscriptions, a power was brought to bear upon the legislature in the form of popular opinion, that within two years realized the vain imagination, and extinguished Colonial Slavery, if not at once, yet for ever.

Supported by the same Divine protection, and steadfastly adhering to the same principle, they ask no better means to lay the foundation of that far nobler triumph to which they now aspire, *the utter extinction of Slavery throughout the world.*

“Not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts.”

GEORGE STEPHEN, Chairman.

JOHN SCOBLE, Secretary.

P. S. It is possible that we may be obliged, in the first instance, to apply for your assistance in obtaining signatures to an address, which it is in contemplation to forward to the Americans; this may seem to threaten a renewal of those measures which we have said will not be repeated; but it is only intended as an introductory step to bring the subject emphatically before their eyes, and not as the prelude of the system we shall hereafter pursue. Some formal announcement of British feeling on the subject, appears necessary; but beyond this, we anticipate no occasion hereafter for any concerted and marked expression of national opinion.

Those who are willing to further the object of the Committee, as described in this circular, are requested to communicate their names to MR. SCOBLE, No. 18, Aldermanbury, London, at their earliest convenience. It will be inferred from the preceding statement, that as respects the intended assistance to America, the request for pecuniary aid is limited to subscriptions for a term of three years.

#### ERRATA.

Page 257, for “Rev. Thornton J. Mills,” read “Rev. Thornton A. Mills.”

Page 263, line 7 from the bottom, *Dele* “audacity.”

Page 269, line 5 from the top, for “that to use, Mr. Birney’s own language in this very letter,” read “that, to use Mr. Birney’s language in this very letter.”

Page 271, line 15 from the top, for “1834” read 1824.”

Page 277, line 1 at the top, for “this singular” read “the singular.”



# DR. HODGKIN'S REMARKS ON THE AFRICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

To Dr. Hodgkin's 'Inquiry into the merits of the American Colonization Society,' a Review of which appeared in our October Number, are appended some interesting remarks on the British African Colonization Society.—After a pertinent introduction, Dr. H. adverts to the obvious policy of the British public to encourage on the Coast of Africa, a taste for British productions, and to increase the demand for them by promoting the extension of civilization towards the interior of the continent. He then thus proceeds:

"This effect, colonization, on the American system, is peculiarly calculated to produce. Although it is not a rival, but an ally of the American colony, which the British Society is proposing to found, it ought to be remarked, that the present is a time in which it is peculiarly important for this country to turn its attention to the colonization of Africa, and more especially of its Western coast. Hitherto, the European settlements on this coast have been few, and, for the most part, unimportant; and the British, whose cruisers have long frequented the coast, for the suppression of the slave trade, have possessed a greater influence over the natives than any other civilized power. Whether this influence be worth possessing or not, I will not say; but it is obvious that it must give way before the more powerful and beneficial influence of America, exerted by means of her Colonization Society. Every year brings under its control fresh accessions of territory, which the natives are anxious to place under its jurisdiction, in order to receive, in return, European arts, and government of American mould. It is not to induce our country to undermine, or compete with this influence which America is obtaining, but to lead her to participate in it, as the reward of her exertions for the good of Africa, that the British Colonization Society is established. The increase and encouragement of British colonies in Africa is no new idea: it has been powerfully advocated, both politically and philanthropically, by James M'Queen, a gentleman intimately acquainted with Africa, her sons, and her commercial advantages. He says of colonization, 'There is but one opinion amongst those who are, or who have had an opportunity of being acquainted with Africa, her population and present institutions; namely, that colonization, fixed and stable, can only render her any permanent benefit.' We have spoken of the powerful influence of colonization, in repressing the slave trade on the coast; but the author from whom I have quoted, points out the effect which it would produce in arresting a no less serious evil—the internal slave trade. On this subject he observes: 'Europe will have done but little for the blacks, if the abolition of the Atlantic slave trade, which is trifling when compared with the slavery of the interior, is not followed up by some wise and grand plan, tending to the civilization of the continent. Colonization, permanent and powerful, is this wise and grand plan.' The same intelligent author forcibly urges the dangers of delay, and points to the rivals who may bear away the prize. Let him speak for himself. 'There is, perhaps, no part of the globe where new commercial establishments could be set down more easily, or where they could be more effectually protected than in Africa. It is at present a noble, and at present an undisputed, but not long to remain an undisputed field.' Again: 'Every obstacle will vanish before judicious and patient exertions. The glory of our Creator, the good of mankind, the prosperity of our own country, the interest of the present, and the welfare of future generations, glory, honor, interest call us; and, united, point out the path to gain the important end. Let but the noble Union ensign wave over and be planted by the stream of the mighty Niger, and the deepest wounds of Africa are healed. Round it, and to it, the nations from Balea to Darfur, from Ashben to Benin, would gather for safety and protection. The slave would burst his fetters, and the slave trade be heard of no more.—The road to effect this is open; it is safe; it will soon be occupied by others; and if we hesitate, the glory and the advantages will be wrested from our hands.'"

The following is Dr. Hodgkin's account of the plan of the British Society, and of the means proposed for effecting it:

"Let us first remark the general characteristics of the design; and next, the plan by which it is proposed to accomplish it. Taking the American system as that to which it is designed closely to adhere, the proposed colony or colonies on the coast of Africa will not, like most colonies established by civilized powers, seek to remove the original possessors of the soil, to make way for an exotic race. It will convey to the coast of Africa those who are of African descent, who may blend with, instruct, and ameliorate their brethren; and in doing so, it will avoid two other evils which have attended whites in tropical regions. It will avoid the immense risk of human life, which has attended the employment of whites; and, at the same time, it will not fail to give to the colored popu-

lation, whether natives, or introduced as settlers, an opportunity of exercising their energy, and exhibiting their talents, the want of which has proved a serious bar to the prosperity of black settlements. It is proposed to solicit the assistance of our American colonizing friends, in obtaining such free colored persons from America as may possess, in conjunction with a desire to emigrate, piety, talents, and information, calculated to make them useful in the formation of the settlement; in which, it is hoped, they will be joined and assisted by a few individuals from Liberia, as well as by such West-Indian blacks as may from time to time desire to avail themselves of their recently acquired liberty to return to the land of their forefathers. The natives in the neighborhood will, it is supposed, become, at first, occasional, and subsequently permanent settlers in the colony so established. It will be the wish and endeavor of the British Colonization Society, to engage the attention of our merchants, and, with their co-operation, to introduce a mutual and beneficial commerce; and also to conciliate the favor of our Government, which, it is hoped, will extend its protection to the colony, but at the same time allow it the privilege of self-government on the American model.

"The following is an outline of the mode in which the society expects to carry this design into execution. The natives in the neighborhood of Cape Mount, who were formerly active slave-dealers, have already, through the influence of the Colony of Liberia, begun to feel the wish, as well as the necessity of abandoning that traffic; and have offered to surrender a territory at that point, lying at the mouth of the river which empties itself into the sea immediately to the north of the Cape. The only return which they ask, is a participation in the privileges of the colony, and the introduction of schools and Christianity. It is this important spot—which may be said to form the southern extremity of that part of the coast which is likely to come under British influence, through Sierra Leone and its dependent settlements, and which is consequently on the northern extremity of the Liberian territory—on which it is proposed, at Elliott Cresson's suggestion, that the first attempt of the British Colonization Society should be made. He has no doubt that the local government of the colony, as well as the Managers of the American Colonization Society, may be induced, at his instance, to transfer the ceded territory to the British Society, for the purpose in question. The advantages of this spot—which Elliott Cresson, from the minute information which he has been at the pains of collecting, has fully pointed out—are strongly confirmed by the testimony of several of our countrymen who have visited it, and more especially by naval officers who have been employed in cruising along the coast, and are consequently able to form a comparative judgment between it and other spots which have been thought of. It is estimated that the sum of £2000 will enable the Association to meet the expenses of founding its settlement at Cape Mount, provided it receive the assistance of Governor Mechlin, and of the American Colonization Society. That of the latter will be required for the selection of the first settlers, and the superintendence of their transmission to the coast; and that of the former, in affording practical information as to the mode in which the settlers should proceed on their arrival, so as to reduce, as much as possible, the hardships and hazards which, to a greater or less extent, must always attend every enterprise like the one now proposed. Although these great and important advantages, in aid of the formation of the settlement, are looked to from the American Society, yet it is not designed that the British Society should become virtually a Branch of the American, but that it shall invite and receive settlers and accessions of various kinds from other quarters, whether associations or individuals, subject to such restrictions and regulations as the Managers may from time to time think fit to adopt. It anticipates advantages of this kind from our West-Indian Colonies.

The plan, of which the above is a sketch, originated with Elliott Cresson; but has been cordially approved and promoted by many distinguished, enlightened, and benevolent Englishmen, some of whose names are attached to the short Prospectus which the Society has published. The Duke of Sussex, who has honored it with his patronage, and who presided at the first meetings which were held for the purpose of instituting the Association, has given his careful attention to the subject, in detail. Lord Bexley has done the same; and has given the Society most efficient support, both in funds and exertion, being one of the most active members of the Committee. Several other noblemen and eminent persons have allowed the sanction of their names as Vice-Presidents. Colonel T. P. Thompson, and Captains Arabin and Rosenberg, naval officers who have been upon the coast, have contributed their valuable services as Committee-men; and important advantage has been, and must continue to be, derived from their local knowledge. Several individuals personally acquainted with those States and Colonies in which a large colored population, whether bond or free, have exhibited the character of the race whose comfort and melioration we are studious to promote, have favored us with their countenance and assistance; and some merchants, already embarked in the African trade, appear to take a lively and favorable interest in the undertaking.

"With all these advantages already in possession, and with many pleasing prospects for the future, we are nevertheless a small and feeble association, compared with the magnitude, the difficulty, and importance of the work which we have attempted."



The benevolent object of the British Society has failed to secure it from the virulent opposition which its American model has received:

"Some idea," says Dr. H. "of the spirit which actuated those who took a part in the opposition of which I am now complaining, may be formed from the assertion of one of the speakers, 'that the design was characterized by the secrecy of sin and the darkness of hell,' because Wilberforce, and Buxton, and Clarkson, and James Cropper, had not been invited to take a part in the proceedings of the day. Wilberforce, it is well known, was laboring under the infirmities which soon after put a period to his existence, and consequently could not be expected to attend any public meeting. It was nevertheless supposed that he was friendly to the design, as he had not then signed that Protest, which is so completely at variance with the tenor of his expressions on previous occasions, that it can never be regarded as the record of his deliberate judgment. Thomas F. Buxton's support would have been most gladly received; but his intimate connection with those whose opposition was most determined, precluded the possibility of expecting it. Remote residence, conjoined with the infirmities of age, were sufficient to account for the absence of the venerable Clarkson: it is, however, well known that he sanctions and approves the plan; although on private grounds, which have been already hinted at, he has not yet given it the support of his name.

"It would doubtless have been highly gratifying, as well as advantageous to the Society, to have had the sanction of James Cropper, whose zeal, generosity, and information, as well as his local situation, would admirably qualify him to be one of the most important and valuable supporters of the new society; but the decided part which he had already publicly taken against the American Society precluded, for the present at least, all hopes of such co-operation. Let me be allowed, on this occasion, to express my deep regret, that the enemies of Liberia have obtained such an influence over my friend James Cropper, as to pervert his talents and resources from the good which they might effect, and to render them the means of obstructing a great, benevolent and important work. The Anti-Slavery Society's Agent sought to attach another stigma on the new enterprise, by representing it as American, and not British. But what better pledge of success can be offered, than the resolution to adopt the plans which America has proved to be so availing; and which have already placed her infant Colony in such a condition, that the annals of colonization can scarcely present its equal for success and economy; and have certainly made it unrivalled, as respects its happy, yet powerful influence over the neighboring territories? And shall the Society be disowned as British, because such excellent and proved policy is wished to be adopted by individuals who are as truly English, and as studious of their country's prosperity and honor, as any who are to be found amongst the ranks of their opponents? Although the British Colonization Society rejoices in the prospect of its connection with the American Society, from which it hopes to receive the most important assistance, yet it must not be represented as merely the handmaid of that Society. It hopes to perform a part more exclusively British, when it turns its attention to our own colonies, and opens a field of promising and laudable enterprise to some of their emancipated slaves. Who will believe it? Even this idea was scouted by the Anti-Slavery orator, who, after the years he had spent in harangue in favor of the slave, we might have imagined would have been the last to oppose a scheme for his advantage. It was contended, that the extent of uncultivated lands in the colonies precluded the idea of emigration being desirable for West-Indian blacks; and although the speaker had objected against the American Colonization Society, that in the short period of its existence it had not brought about more obvious results, he extended his chronological calculations to millions of years, before the blacks of our colonies would require the asylum which we propose to offer them. I know of no data on which to found any feasible conjectures respecting such remote futurity; but I can easily conceive that an island may prove too small to afford a quiet residence to all the incongruous elements of its mixed population, long before every acre of its surface is brought into cultivation; and that, consequently, it is by no means improbable, that, in the arrangement of the new order of things in our colonies, it may be mutually desirable that some parties may be more widely separated from others than their present situation will allow."

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[From the *National Intelligencer*, Sept. 24.]

### MONROVIA.

*Extract from the Journal of an Officer of the United States Navy.*

DECEMBER 11, 1833.

The town of Monrovia is on the South side of the Mesurado River, contains about 1000 inhabitants. The bank upon which the

town is built is so high that they have the full benefit of the land and sea breezes—a very important consideration in this hot climate. There are several good stone wharves upon the River, and large well filled store-houses. Immediately upon landing, we were met by a party of well dressed gentlemen, of various hues, from coal black to bright yellow, by whom we were conducted to the house of Mr. M'Gill, the present Vice Agent for the Colonization Society. Here we met most of the dignitaries of the Colony, Judge Johnson, Colonel Barbour, Mr. Warner, Mr. Lewis, and others.—After partaking of refreshments, that were liberally provided, we visited the houses of the different gentlemen, and were treated with universal politeness. Our arrival appears to have given rise to general rejoicing. We found among the colonists many intelligent and respectable men, who answered all our questions politely and satisfactorily. Our intercourse was somewhat constrained at first; we felt rather awkward, and there was some diffidence on the part of the colored gentry; but in a short time, all this was thrown aside, and we conversed and associated with the utmost freedom.—My name attracted the attention of Judge Johnson, who was originally from New Jersey, where the name is common. Although I could not claim the honor of a previous acquaintance with the Judge, we soon became intimate; and with another of the party, I received an invitation to dine with him.—The rest of the officers were distributed among the other gentlemen. I found the house of the Judge, a comfortable well furnished two story frame one, and the dinner such as you would get at the house of any of our most opulent farmers. Besides ourselves, the company consisted of the Judge and his two sons, a captain and lieutenant, of artillery. Judge Johnson was a native of Trenton, New Jersey, about fifty years old, and, if I may judge from the color of his skin, not a drop of white blood lurks in his veins; a man of good sound sense, not much assisted by education, the inconvenience of which he feels sensibly; and that his sons may not labor under the same disadvantage, every possible attention has been paid to the cultivation of their minds. They were so young when they left the United States, that they have but little recollection of their relative standing with the whites, and of consequence, are in a great measure divested of that awkwardness still observable among the older men, and those who have emigrated more recently. We were much pleased with the conversation of these gentlemen. They gave us a deal of information relative to the colony, of the many difficulties they had encountered, and of its present state and prospects. There was one remark made by the Judge, so replete with good sense, that it deserves to be remembered. Speaking of the United States, he said, that when there, his greatest ambition was to secure the reputation of a good servant, in which he believed he had succeeded; and had he remained there his life might have been dragged out comfortably enough, but he was induced to leave purely on account of his sons. They were now, he was proud to say, young men of the first consideration in the colony, and in the United States he would have been deemed fortunate in procuring them good situations as house waiters or coachmen. The Judge does not confine himself to the bench; he sometimes officiates in the pulpit; and displayed great skill and courage at the head of the colonial troops, in some of their wars with the natives. The reputation he there earned has given him the name of the Washington of West Africa.

There are several shades of society here, but no distinct intermediate grades; all are divided into two, the *good* and the *worthless*. The last class are by no means numerous. Nine-tenths of those who fall victims to the fever are the lazy and dissipated; and those whom I found discontented and willing to return to their former state of bondage, were invariably among this class of people.



After visiting two thirds of the houses in Monrovia, rich and poor, we embarked for the ship just before sunset.

DECEMBER 12. \* \* \* \* There is considerable trade carried on here—ivory, cam wood, and gold dust, are obtained from the natives, in exchange for rum, tobacco, trinkets, &c. Many of the colonists are engaged in the traffic. Some have made fortunes, this has been so tempting a bait, that too many have embarked in the business. Much time and money have been lost that would have been better employed in cultivating the soil.—Although a luxuriant soil, its productions fall far short of being sufficient for the consumption of the colony. Recently some fine farms have been opened and they are beginning to turn their attention to them. One of the principal merchants, Mr. Daily, a mulatto, and his chief clerk, Mr. Hicks, an ebony-colored gentleman; breakfasted with us. No one, however censorious, could have discovered any thing in the deportment of these men, that showed a want of good-breeding.

Mr. Minor, the colonial printer, dined with us. He is a little black gentleman, intelligent, and rather diffident. It was evident that he felt a little abashed, seated by one of our lieutenants, who had known him when a slave in Virginia. Several of the officers have met with acquaintances and have taken pains to convince them that circumstances of this kind have no weight with us. We have had a good many visitors to-day, who have been treated with marked attention. Indeed, it is due them, if it were merely in return for their civility to us.

DECEMBER 13.—We supplied the colony with some powder and shot, a boat, and other necessities.

DECEMBER 14.—The ship was under weigh before daybreak, and by 8 o'clock we had lost sight of the coast of Africa, all well pleased with our visit to Liberia. J. F. S.

#### PETERBORO MANUAL LABOR SCHOOL.

We take great pleasure in copying from the New Haven Journal of Freedom of August 20, 1834, the subjoined article on an important institution for the benefit of the African race, which has been established at Peterboro, in the State of New York, by GERRIT SMITH. From the account of it given in the article, it promises to be an invaluable bounty to those for whose advantage it has been devised; and to raise another monument to the name of its founder—a name already associated with so much that is admirable in genius, in munificence, and in Christian charity:

"It is known to some extent, that Gerrit Smith, Esq. that munificent as well as eloquent friend of Africa, has recently attempted to establish on his own estate at Peterboro, Madison County, New York, a Manual Labor School for Young Men of Color. We have taken some pains to learn the particulars of his plan, and the circumstances in which it has gone into operation. But as we have not been able to visit the school, or to confer directly with any person who has had that privilege, we are obliged to content ourselves with a statement somewhat less minute than we could desire. The following particulars, however, have been gathered from such sources that our readers may rely upon them as correct.

The School is established in the belief that it is the duty of the whites to elevate the condition and character of the colored people, and that the education of large numbers of them is indispensable to the raising up of these down-trodden millions.

"It is intended that the School shall afford advantages for obtaining either a good common or classical education; and the hope is cherished that some well educated men will go out from it—well educated for any work to which they may be called in this or any other country.

"The teacher is Mr. C. Grant, formerly the Principal of Whitesborough Academy, who.



besides having the talents, learning, and piety, required for such a station, is heartily devoted to the welfare of the colored people.

"Mr. Smith provides, at his own expense, instructors, books, stationery, rooms, bedding, fuel, lights, and boarding. The student furnishes his own clothing. As a partial compensation for the above-named expenditures on his account, and as important to his own education, the student is expected to labor four hours daily, in some agricultural or mechanical employment. The proprietor has an abundance of land connected with the School. These four hours of labor are estimated as worth, on an average, about twelve and a half cents daily for each student. The living of the pupils is very plain. Neither tea nor coffee is allowed them. They have meat but once a day. They sleep on mattresses of straw. They do their own cooking and washing, under the superintendence of a respectable colored woman, who lived a great many years in the family of the late Governor Trumbull, of this State. This labor, however, is deducted from their four hours per day. Every scholar, on entering the School, is required to subscribe a promise of abstinence from all intoxicating drinks, including cider and strong beer, and also from tobacco in every form. Pains are taken that they shall all be perfectly free to form and express their opinions on Anti-Slavery and Colonization Societies, and kindred subjects; and they of course understand that they are perfectly at liberty to go where they please when they leave the institution. There is a reading-table in the School, well supplied with Anti-Slavery and Colonization publications.

The proprietor has not yet resolved how many students it will be judicious to receive after the first year. As yet he has prepared rooms for only eighteen. The School was opened on the first of May last. At the date of our information, about three weeks since, the number of scholars was but seven; though it was probable, from the number of applications for admission, that in a month or two the number for the present year would be full.

"Pupils under fourteen years of age are not desired. But any active and enterprising colored youth, of from 14 to 25 years of age, who is disposed to make the most of such advantages as this School offers, will do well to apply for admission. He will need at his starting a year or two's supply of good coarse clothing, and perhaps five or ten dollars in money over the expenses of his journey."

"We are happy to learn that the scholars appear to be highly pleased with their privileges, and that the School is becoming an object of much interest with the Christian community in the midst of which it has been established."

## INTELLIGENCE.

### MUNIFICENT LEGACY.

We learn from the Norwich (Con.) Courier, that DR. ALFRED E. PERKINS, who died recently in that city, besides various private bequests, has left to the American Colonization Society *one thousand dollars*.

[From the Connecticut Observer, Nov. 24.]

**LIBERIA.**—A gentleman near Natchez, lately deceased, has liberated his slaves, 18 or 20 in number, and furnished them with from 200 to 400 dollars each, to promote their comfortable settlement in Liberia.

[From the Alexandria Gazette, November 15.]

The State of Georgia has purchased of his owner, at the enormous price of \$1800, a negro man named SAM, with a view to his emancipation, for his services in extinguishing a fire on the State House, which occurred upwards of a year ago.

*Appointment by the Governor and Council of Maryland.*

Peter Hoffman, Esq. Commissioner to su-

perintend the emigration of the people of color, vice Moses Sheppard, resigned.

### COLONIZATION MEETING AT CINCINNATI.

A meeting of the Colonization Society, one of the largest and most interesting of the kind ever held in Cincinnati, took place on Friday, the 21st of October, in the second Presbyterian church. The chair was taken by the President, Rev. B. P. Aydelott, of the Episcopal church, and the meeting opened with prayer, by Rev. R. H. Bishop, D. D. of Miami University.

Several resolutions were passed and addresses were delivered by the Rev. Thornton A. Mills, Rev. Dr. Beecher, and R. S. Finley, Esq. Our columns are crowded, but for reasons that will be appreciated, we present the following.

The Rev. Dr. Beecher moved the

following resolution, which was seconded by the Rev. Mr. Graves, and adopted.

*Resolved*, That the establishment of colonies in Africa with emigrants selected from the moral, temperate, and industrious colored persons in America, is eminently calculated of itself, to disseminate the knowledge of civilization and the blessings of the christian religion amongst the benighted native population of that country; and also to afford facilities to the various Missionary Societies for carrying into effect their pious designs.

Dr. B. addressed the meeting, and illustrated with great force and clearness, the following positions—That colonization is one of the best means of sending the gospel to Africa, and that it was eminently calculated to advance the cause of emancipation.—He did not contend that it was the only means of abolishing slavery in this country, or even that it was of itself entirely adequate to that object; many masters would, however, emancipate their slaves for the purpose of being colonized, and many slaves of a proper character, thus emancipated, would be willing to go to the Colony. Moreover it had caused the question of slavery to be discussed every where both in the south and the north, which had been the means of extensively enlightening the public mind, not only as to the evils of slavery, but also as to the best means of correcting them, and entirely abolishing the whole system.

After the addresses had been delivered, Mr. Finley introduced to the meeting, Mr. Joseph Jones, who has lately returned from Liberia, whither he had been sent expressly for the purpose of examining and reporting the state of the country. In reply to questions put to Mr. Jones on the subject, he gave a most interesting account of the Colony—its schools, its churches, its soil, productions, &c.

The meeting adjourned highly gratified with what they had heard. And doubtless a noble impulse was given on that occasion to the cause of African Colonization.—*Chris. Intel.*

#### COLONIZATION.

The Board of Managers of the Kentucky Colonization Society have re-

solved to send a company of emigrants to Africa, to start about the middle of January.

The Colonization Society of Cincinnati held a general meeting on the 31st ult., from the proceedings of which we select the following:

R. S. Finley, Esq., supported by the Rev. Mr. Lind, then submitted the following Resolution, which after a few pertinent remarks from the mover, was adopted without opposition, viz:

*Resolved*, That our success in establishing a Colony of colored persons in Africa, is intimately connected with the success which may attend our efforts to cultivate the intellect, and improve the moral and religious condition of our colored population at home.

Mr. Finley briefly adverted to the various measures which had been taken in the West, to procure authentic information of the state and prospects of the Colony; and took occasion to introduce Mr. Joseph Jones, a respectable colored man, who had spent several months in Liberia, in 1833, on a visit of observation, in behalf of the colored population, (by whom he was nominated,) and the State Society, of Kentucky.

Mr. Jones then proceeded, in reply to sundry interrogatories, to give his *first impressions of Africa*, and submitted a number of interesting facts, in relation to the actual condition of the Colony, under the heads of *Population—dwellings—food—clothing—agriculture—arts—commerce—education—religion, &c.*

As there was not sufficient time for all the details which it was supposed would prove acceptable to the audience, (including the exhibition of several specimens of African manufactures, and productions,) the examination of Mr. J. was postponed until the annual meeting of the Society, proposed to be held on WEDNESDAY EVENING next, the fifth inst. when such further questions as may be put to him by the audience, in relation to his opinions or experience, will be promptly and willingly answered.

[From the Southern Religious Telegraph, Richmond, Va. Dec. 5.]

The cause presented in the following article is commended by its own merits, its importance to the welfare of the sons and daughters of Africa, to the sympathies, prayers and enlightened liberality of Christian ladies in every part of our country.

The Sixth Annual meeting of the FEMALE COLONIZATION SOCIETY OF RICHMOND AND MANCHESTER was held in the Presbyterian Church on Shockoe hill, Wednesday, Nov. 26th. The following is a statement of facts, relative to their progress during the last year.

It is known to this Society that about 5 years since we determined to establish a fe-



male free school for orphan and destitute children in the Colony of Liberia. During that time our efforts to obtain a teacher proved unsuccessful. When the Rev. Mr. Pinney went to Africa as Governor of the Colony, we requested him to obtain a teacher there, if possible. It is with great satisfaction that the Board inform the Society that Mr. Pinney has complied with our request, and engaged the services of Mrs. Cyples,—who went from Charleston, S. C. recommended by Mr. Grimke, and has been qualifying herself for teaching in the school of Mrs. Thompson.—Mr. Pinney engaged to pay Mrs. Cyples \$200 per annum. \$249 60 have been expended in Tobacco and shipped to Norfolk for this purpose.

The annual collections which have been accumulating were placed at interest, and with donations, amount \$502 79 now in the Treasury. The collections this year amount to \$91 80, and we have no prospect at present of obtaining aid from any other source. The Female Society of Louisville, Kentucky, which was Auxiliary to this, has been dissolved, owing the secretary mentions, to the pressure in every thing where money is concerned.

It is unnecessary in this report to say any thing on the importance of female education; all present appreciate it. It is well known that to a great extent females have the control of mind. To the efforts and prayers of intelligent mothers, the world is indebted for much of the Wisdom and Piety which have blessed mankind.

How cheering is the thought that this is one of the means by which the conversion of the world is to be accomplished, and that we may bear a part in this glorious work. When we pray "Thy kingdom come," shall we not send up a petition that our humble efforts may be blessed by the Head of the Church, and result in leading many poor benighted females to the Saviour.

The Board would only add in conclusion, that they have determined to transmit to Mr. Pinney as much of the funds as he finds necessary to the aid and education of orphan and destitute children in the Colony. The name of this Society has been changed to "Ladies Society for Promoting female education in the Colony of Liberia."

LETTERS FOR LIBERIA.—An officer of the Massachusetts Colonization Society wishes us to say that by an arrangement of the Post Office Department, all letters for persons in Liberia properly directed, and forwarded *post paid* to New York Post Office; will be forwarded by the first opportunity.

[From the Nat. Intelligencer, Oct. 28.]

VERMONT.—*The Slave Question.*—A few days since, upon a resolution referred from the last Legislature, declaring Slavery and the Slave trade inconsistent with our bill of rights, and instructing their delegation in

Congress to endeavor to procure the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, a motion was made in the Legislature of Vermont, that the resolution be dismissed, whereupon a long debate ensued. Mr. Partridge was opposed to slavery, but in favor of the motion to dismiss. Mr. Dillingham opposed the motion to dismiss. In his view, a dismissal of the motion, would be virtually an acknowledgment that slavery was not wrong, and an instruction to members of Congress *not* to exert their influence for its abolition. The question to dismiss was *carried*—Ayes 103, Noes 90. On this very proper decision, the Boston Commercial Gazette makes the following just remarks:

"We rejoice at this decision, and are only sorrow it was not effected by a more decisive vote. We trust that every attempt, however remote, to interfere upon a point of such vital importance to the interests of the Southern States, will be indignantly frowned upon by every intelligent member of this community. We of the North have nothing to do with the subject, or if we have, it has been definitively settled, years and years ago, by the Constitution of the United States. The doctrines of Garrison, Tappan, and a few other deluded fanatics of the present day, must not be suffered to obtain a foothold in these New England States. It will lead, most unquestionably, in the first place; to disgraceful mobs and riots, as it has already done in the city of New York and other places, and will terminate in nothing short of civil war. The question, then, that naturally addresses itself to the plain common sense of every christian man, is plainly and emphatically this: Shall Garrison and his followers be permitted to agitate this peaceable community with doctrines, which, if followed up, *must inevitably lead to bloodshed, disunion, and civil war?*—We lament, as deeply and sincerely as they can, the existence of slavery in this country, and all the consequences to which it leads; but shall a remedy be attempted, with such a horrid alternative staring us in the face? We say, no, no, no. The end does not justify the means, and "come what, come may," every attempt, however clothed with charitable purposes, to agitate the subject, or get up an excitement in this community, must be most contemptuously frowned upon, and put to sleep forever."

JONES' JOURNAL.—IMPOSITION.—R. S. Finley, Esq. at a late meeting of the Colonization Society at Cincinnati, read several extracts from a report made by Mr. Joseph Jones respecting Liberia, which he had visited, and of which he spoke in fa



avorable terms. His report has been published in several papers. After reading several passages, Mr. Finley said—

"I have been thus particular in my statements concerning Mr. Joseph Jones' report, because a false and spurious production has been quoted from, under the title of Jones' journal, and extensively published, purporting to be from the genuine and authentic report of this same Mr. Joseph Jones. And I have (continued Mr. F.) in my possession evidence to prove, *when, where, and by whom*, this false and spurious document was manufactured."—*Chris. Intel.*

#### THE COLONY AT LIBERIA.

DANVILLE, August 16th, 1834.

At a meeting held by a portion of the Students of Centre College, for the purpose of examining Mr. Joseph Jones, a colored man, as to the condition and prospects of the Colony of Liberia, Mr. W. TUNSTALL was called to the Chair, and ROBERT McKEOWN appointed Secretary.

After a protracted examination, conducted partly by persons friendly to the scheme of Colonization, and partly by persons opposed to it, the following resolutions were offered and adopted by the meeting—the first and third by a unanimous vote—the 2nd by a vote of twenty-eight to four.

1. *Resolved*, That this meeting return their thanks to Mr. Jones for the obliging and satisfactory manner in which he has answered the questions proposed to him in reference to the Colony of Liberia.

2. *Resolved*, That the intelligent representation of Mr. Jones has convinced us as to the favorable prospects of the Colony, and has given us renewed confidence in the practicability and benevolence of the scheme of Colonization.

3. *Resolved*, That these resolutions and the questions and answers on which they are based, be printed in the Olive Branch and Luminary.

#### QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

1. How many of the emigrants are discontented? Several; a very large majority are perfectly satisfied.

2. What is the cause of their discontent? They say that it is because the country is not fit to live in; but I say it is because they have no industry. They have no good reason.

3. What is the general character of the discontented? People who are not disposed to work or take any care of themselves.

4. Has the Colony any influence in civilizing the natives? I think it will civilize them in time. If more means were used for this purpose, it would do it faster.

5. Do the natives wish to come under the laws of the colony? They do.

6. Are they willing to give up the slave trade if they can be received under the protection of the colony? They are. Some come into the bounds of the colony from their native places, to escape the slave trade.

7. Do any of the natives become real christians? There are two of whom I know. There may be others.

8. Do the natives wish to learn to read?—Some of them are very desirous to learn.

9. Do you think the colony itself, without any direct efforts by missionaries sent from here, would christianize the natives? In time it probably would.

10. Does the colony give the natives a disposition to receive missionaries among them? It does. They understand by it better what good they will get from them.

11. Does the colony afford advantages to us for acting on the natives by missionaries and schools? Yes. The bad influence to the natives from civilized men who do wrong, would not be as much as the good from the missionaries and schools.

12. Are the preachers who sell rum paid for preaching. No; they get nothing for it.

13. How many natives have you seen drunk? I have seen a great many natives, and I never saw but one drunk.

14. What do the colonists think of the man who said the natives ought to be slaves? He is thought badly of for such a notion. He has hurt himself by saying so.

15. How many days did Samuel Jones remain in the colony? Eight days, I believe, including the day of his landing and the day he went on board.

16. Had he any opportunity for learning the condition of the colony? No. It was impossible.

17. Do you believe the statements given, as made by Jones, that "hundreds are starving there?" I believe no such thing. I heard of folks starving in Africa, but I could never find them.

18. How many did you ever hear of as suffering for want of food? I heard distinctly of a couple of people.

19. What was the cause of their suffering? They lived away from any others and were sick; and the neighbors did not attend to them; I heard it said that some thought the one that died might have got well if she had been taken care of. But I suppose such things may happen anywhere.

20. How long were you in Africa? Nine months and twenty-nine days.

21. Did you visit every part of the colony? Yes, and spent some time in each part.

22. Are colonists, as a body, called christians by the natives?—They do not call them by this name, but call them all *white men*.—They use the expression a *God-man*, to mean what we do by a christian. They only call those they think to be good "the God-men." They make a difference as we do.

23. Does not the example of a transgressing christian excite more contempt in the natives than that of a non-professor? Yes.—When a man professes to be good and does not act so, he is more despised.

24. Is not the fear of an attack by the fever so prevalent that the visitors generally remain in their ships during the night? A number of scary passengers go on board at night?

But some die on board as well as on shore.—Almost all must be sick more or less in becoming seasoned.

25. Would it be better for the whole colored population, if now freed, to go to Liberia? No, not without arrangements for receiving them.

26. Would it be better for themselves, the colony, and the natives, that 20,000 in their present unprepared state, should go? I cannot say—but doubt whether it would.

27. Would it be better that 5,000 or 10,000 should? If their masters would give them suitable preparation, it would be well for all to go, *provided they would go willingly*.

28. If they had such preparation as the Society is now making necessary for each emigrant—that is, if each had a small house of his own provided and ready built on a piece of ground which he could cultivate, (the title to which house and ground to be given when he had prepared another similar house for a future emigrant)—would 10,000 a year be too many to send? No. If they had such preparation and went willingly, their number would make no difference.

29. Do not the colonists look down upon poor emancipated slaves sent from here, as degraded and a disgrace to the colony? I have heard such talk among the quality of the colony.

30. Do they look down upon them as much as the white people of New York look down upon the free blacks among them? I reckon not; and I suppose I am fit to give an opinion, as I was in New York about as long as Samuel Jones was in Africa.

31. Do you think that the colonists would be willing that great numbers, as they now are, should be sent immediately? Many would receive them gladly—a majority would receive them.

32. Do the colonists generally deal fairly with the natives? Many of them do not.

33. Do the preachers? Some of them do, and some of them do not.

34. Is not the religious influence of the preachers and church members much done away by their unfair dealing with the natives? The colonists themselves speak of this, and the preachers in the pulpit; as a thing that hurts their usefulness among the natives.

35. Are they there as they are here—some good and some bad? Very much the same.

36. Is temperance gaining ground there? Yes; some of them begin to think that they can do without either selling or drinking.—Thirty-three joined a Temperance Society at Caldwell on one night; and some of these were strongly opposed to it when I first went to Liberia.

37. Are there many children at school?—The most of them are. The re-captured Africans have schools among them.

38. Are any of the re-captured Africans christians? A great many; two of them are preachers.

39. How do the colonists treat the natives that are servants among them? Some tolerably well, and some roughly; they whip them sometimes.

40. Are those servants hirelings? Yes.—They need not live with a person if they do not choose. But if they go away before the time for which they hire is expired, they receive no wages.

41. Do they treat the natives worse than the whites treat the free blacks in Kentucky? A good many of them do.

42. Is there one law to protect colonists and another to protect natives? No; they enjoy the same laws.

43. Do the natives consider themselves worse off by the Americans having settled? No; they think they are much better off.—There are no wars among them where the Americans protect them. There are, however, cases where individuals impose upon them.

44. Had there been any capital punishment in the colony? No.

45. Are the natives permitted to vote? No; they are not citizens. The re-captured Africans are, and they vote.

46. Can you vote in Liberia when you return? Yes.

47. Do they let white men vote? No.

48. Do they let white men hold land or houses? No.

49. Have the natives an equal chance of justice? No.

50. Have the free blacks an equal chance here? No.

51. Would a respectable colonist marry a native? No; they have no objection to marrying a re-captured African, for they are considered as civilized.

52. Are the natives in the settlements treated as servants? They hire and are so treated. Some of them live in houses by themselves, and not with the colonists.

53. Is any effort made by the colonists to elevate the natives? Some of the colonists try to do it; but there is not as much effort as there should be.

54. Are there any schools which the natives may attend? There are two at New-Georgia, and all the Sabbath schools.

55. Do the natives attend church? Very seldom.

56. Do the natives fear the colonists, and do the colonists wish them to do so? Some of them do.

57. Do any of the colonists say the natives should be slaves? I heard of one man only who said so.

58. Have the colonists, those who are able to afford it, a native or two to work for them? Yes.

59. Are the rich colonists proud and luxurious? They generally are.

60. Do the natives lounge about much? No, they are generally very industrious.

61. Are the preachers traders? They generally are.

62. Do they trade in rum, tobacco, firearms, and beads? Yes.

63. Is rum a chief article in trade? There has been a good deal of trade in it.

64. What use do the natives make of firearms? Chiefly to shoot game. They do not use them to shoot other natives. When the



Africans go out to kidnap, they shout and hurrah round the village and frighten the inhabitants and catch them when they run. I do not know that those who purchase guns from the colony use them for this. Those who deal with slave-traders receive guns in exchange for slaves.

65. Can rum be procured at any of the stores? Yes.

66. What is its price? From \$1.25 to \$1.50 cts. per gallon.

67. How many went out in the Ajak last fall? About 150 or 160.

68. How many died? Twenty nine died on the voyage of whooping cough, cholera, and bowel complaint—they were almost all children. The voyage was very long. About 45 died in seasoning.

69. Were any of the physicians employed by the colony, there, when the passengers of the Ajax were sick? No. Drs. Hall and Todson were both away.

70. While you were there the Jupiter, the Argus, and the Ann arrived. How many died out of the passengers? The Jupiter brought 50, and two of them died. The Ann brought forty, and none died.

71. Are the natives healthy? They are as healthy as any people. They look far better than the blacks here.

72. How long does the seasoning last.—From 3 to 24 months.

73. Does the sickness when it seizes them, make them discontented? It often does.

74. Can they ever attend to their business while sick with this disease? Many can. Children have it not as bad as grown persons.

75. Are they generally healthy after they have had this disease? Remarkably so.

76. Have any of the colonists been connected with the slave trade? Such a thing has been said—but no proof has been given.

77. What is the punishment for a person engaging in this trade? He is hung.

78. Are the colonists generally disposed to cheat the natives? They make the best bargain they can generally—so men do elsewhere. Some of the natives are so keen as often to cheat them.

79. Have the colonists a disposition to traffick and not to agriculture? Much more attention was given to trade than to farming. More attention was given to agriculture in

4 months before I came away, than had been in six whole years before.

80. How many emigrants escape the fever? I saw three or four who had never been down a day.

81. Would the same number of slaves set free here be as well as they are there? No.

82. Why do you think so? They are not looked down upon, nor trampled upon there as they are in this country. They can do as they please.

83. Do the mass of the free colored people here live as comfortably as the mass of the colonists? No.

84. What would be necessary to enable a man to live comfortably if he went from here to Liberia? A suitable set of utensils, furniture, clothes for two or three years, enough of food to last till he could raise a crop. All these would cost about \$150.

85. Does it require as much labor to raise enough to support him there, as it does here? No. He can support his family better, with half the labor.

86. Why can he do this? Because, what he raises there grows far more abundantly and with less labor.

87. Were the most of those who went out in the last expeditions emancipated slaves?—Yes.

88. Do they permit men to leave their wives there, or wives to leave their husbands? No, they put such persons in jail.

89. Are efforts made to persuade the free colored people in Kentucky not to emigrate? Yes—more than to persuade them to do so. The enemies of colonization are more active than its friends.

90. Were efforts made to prevent you giving testimony in favor of the colony? Yes. I was told in New York that if I liked Liberia, I had best keep it to my myself—that it was not popular, and I had best say nothing about it. In Philadelphia, too, I was called upon by a person to take my testimony; but he wished to make me answer according to his notions and not according to what I knew.—He wanted to ask and answer the questions both himself.

W. M. TUNSTALL, *Chairman.*

ROBERT McKEOWN, *Secretary.*

[*Western Luminary.*]

## CONCLUSION OF THE TENTH VOLUME.

In order that the volumes of this work may hereafter commence with the year, the Tenth Volume terminates with the present number. A copious index to the whole ten volumes of the Repository has been prepared for the press, with much care and labor, and will soon be published. The Editor considers it proper to state, that absence from his office during a large portion of the past and present years, has rendered it impossible for him to give much attention to the Repository. It is hardly necessary for him to say with what success the duties that have usually devolved on him, have been discharged, since the best evidence on this subject is found in the original articles of the work, particularly in the Review of Mr. BIRNEY's letter, in the last number. In these articles (from the pen of another member of the



present Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society), the Society has been ably vindicated from the aspersions which men, regardless alike of honor, of justice, and truth, have cast upon it. We refer not to MR. BIRNEY, who has doubtless permitted his imagination to dim the light of his reason, and from abstract speculations concerning human rights, to deduce the practical duties of life. We refer to men who, under the white flag of Peace, and the starry banner of Freedom, consider themselves privileged to vend wholesale slander and falsehood, and claim therefor the crown of martyrdom.

The readers of the African Repository are aware, from the publication of the last Annual Report, and two additional reports which appeared in the March and August numbers of this work, that the Society has been for some time laboring under pecuniary embarrassments, owing principally to its having sent out too large a number of emigrants to the Colony for the two or three years past. At the last annual meeting of the Society, it had an outstanding debt of \$45,645.

To meet this difficulty, the Board of Managers passed an order, authorizing a loan of \$50,000, to bear an interest of six per cent. to be paid off in twelve years, providing a Sinking Fund of \$6000 a year from their receipts for the regular payment of the annual instalments and interest. Upwards of \$20,000 of this Stock has been taken by our creditors and friends; the former receiving it in part or in full for their claims; the latter advancing its amount in money. More than one-half of our outstanding debt has been discharged during the present year, and the balance is owing to persons who will either take stock for it, or wait our convenience for payment. It is true, the stock is still considered as a debt, but it will be paid off so gradually, as scarcely to be felt by the Society.

To effect this great object, and to supply the necessary wants of the Colony, the Society had to refrain from sending out any additional emigrants during the present year, except fourteen liberated by Mrs. Ann Page, of Frederick county, Virginia, who were sent out in the same vessel which carried out the colored people of the late Dr. Aylet Hawes, of that State, dispatched by our Auxiliary, the Young Men's Society of Pennsylvania, who are settling a new place at Bassa Cove, a territory mentioned in our last Annual Report as having been lately added to Liberia.

In the mean time, it is expected that our Agent, Mr. Pinney, will have made such regulations and improvements in the Colony, as will greatly conduce to its future prosperity, and such as will enable the inhabitants, by well-applied industry, to raise sufficient sustenance in the Colony to supply, not only all the wants of the present settlers, but also sufficient to feed such as may hereafter be sent there, independently of the Parent Society.

The principles of the Colonization Society are not to be shaken. They are gathering strength from opposition, and will outlive all the fury of the storm which has been excited against them. Made prevalent, they must preserve the integrity of our Union, exalt our national character, and open the way to the freedom, the elevation and happiness of the whole African race.

#### CONTRIBUTIONS

*To the American Colonization Society in the month of November, 1834.*

*Gerrit Smith's First Plan of Subscription.*

Mathew Carey, Philadelphia,	-	-	-	-	-	\$100
John T. Norton, Albany,	-	-	-	-	-	100

*Collections from Churches.*

Bethany church, Allegany co. Pa. by Rev. William Jefferey,	-	-	-	-	10
Bangor, Lancaster co. Pa. in the Episcopal church,	-	-	-	-	9
Bellevue, do Presbyterian church, by Rev. J. Byers,	-	-	-	-	

Chester District, S. C. by Warren Flenniken,	-	-	-	-	20
Franklin co. Pa. at Loudon and Welsh Run,	-	-	-	-	10
Germantown, Pa. Methodist Episcopal church, by Rev. J. Woolsen,	-	-	-	-	7 50
Hilltown, Bucks co. Pa.	-	-	-	-	3
Morgantown, Berks county, Pa. Episcopal church,	-	-	-	-	2 42
New Britain, Bucks county,	-	-	-	-	3
Schenectady, Reformed Presbyterian church, by Rev. E. D. M <sup>c</sup> Master,	-	-	-	-	70
Presbyterian church, by Rev. John M <sup>c</sup> Master,	-	-	-	-	4
Strasburg and Lancaster, by Rev. Mr. Torbut,	-	-	-	-	10

*Auxiliary Societies.*

Clarksville, Ohio, by Samuel V. Watkins,	-	-	-	-	30
Connecticut Auxiliary Society, by Seth Terry, Treasurer,	-	-	-	-	650
Kenyon College, Ohio, Auxiliary,	-	-	-	-	100
Virginia Auxiliary, by B. Brand, Treasurer,	-	-	-	-	150
Zanesville and Putnam Auxiliary, by H. Safford, Secretary,	-	-	-	-	143 56
Troy Auxiliary Society,	-	-	-	-	8 50

*Donations.*

Albany, from J. H. Prentice,	-	-	-	-	100
E. P. Prentice,	-	-	-	-	50
T. W. Olcott,	-	-	-	-	25
Cash,	-	-	-	-	20
do	-	-	-	-	20
Mr. Webb,	-	-	-	-	10
Franklin county, Pa. from Robert Kennedy,	-	-	-	-	10
Kinsman, Ohio, from John Kinsman and George Swift, \$5 each,	-	-	-	-	10
Mrs. Rebecca Kinsman,	-	-	-	-	5
Peter Allen,	-	-	-	-	2
Wm. France and Rev. Isaac McIlvaine, \$2 each,	-	-	-	-	4
Mrs. M. A. McIlvaine, Mrs. Mary Plum, Dea. Burnham, and Thomas Kinsman, \$1 each,	-	-	-	-	4
New York, from James Boorman,	-	-	-	-	200
do do payable on the departure of the next vessel with emigrants to Liberia,	-	-	-	-	300
George Douglass,	-	-	-	-	200
Samuel A. Foot,	-	-	-	-	100
Goodhue & Co.	-	-	-	-	100
James Lenox,	-	-	-	-	100
H. F. Varick,	-	-	-	-	50
William B. Astor,	-	-	-	-	40
Robert Maitland,	-	-	-	-	40
Philip Hone,	-	-	-	-	40
John Morrison,	-	-	-	-	25
S. Whitney,	-	-	-	-	25
J. & W. Kelly,	-	-	-	-	25
John C. Halsey,	-	-	-	-	25
Henry Young,	-	-	-	-	25
Richard Irvin,	-	-	-	-	20
D. Lord,	-	-	-	-	10
a Lady,	-	-	-	-	10
do	-	-	-	-	10
six Gentlemen, \$10 each,	-	-	-	-	60
three do \$5 each,	-	-	-	-	15
Leander Mead,	-	-	-	-	5
a Gentleman,	-	-	-	-	3
Moses Allen, for a collection at the Dutch church, Fishkill,	-	-	-	-	20
Philadelphia, from Elliott Cresson,	-	-	-	-	480
James Bayard,	-	-	-	-	10
Salem, Mass. from Rev. S. M. Worcester,	-	-	-	-	5
Troy, from T. B. Bigelow,	-	-	-	-	25
Stephen Warren,	-	-	-	-	10
David Buel,	-	-	-	-	10
D. Buel, Jr. Mr. Mabbitt, John Paine, D. O. Kellog, A. P. Heart,	-	-	-	-	
John Hunter, D. Walker, W. Webb, J. L. V. Schoonhoven, A.	-	-	-	-	
S. Perry, J. M. Warren, Mrs. N. Warren, J. L. Thompson,	-	-	-	-	
Phil. T. Heartt, John V. Tassett, D. Gardner, P. H. Buckley,	-	-	-	-	
R. P. Hart, A. Robbins, James R. Taylor, each \$5,	-	-	-	-	95
a Gentleman,	-	-	-	-	4
three do \$3 each,	-	-	-	-	9
four do \$2 each,	-	-	-	-	8
three do \$1 each,	-	-	-	-	3
one do	-	-	-	-	25

*African Repository.*













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